DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 195 601 UD 020 923

AUTHOR	Beckum, Leonard C.; Dasho, Stefan J.
TITLE	Multi-Ethnic School Environments: Final Report FY 1978-79, Volume II: Classroom Case Studies.
INSTITUTION	Far West Lab. for Educational Research and Development, San Francisco, Calif.
SPONS AGENCY	National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO	MESE-79-1t
PUB DATE	Jan 80
CONTRACT	OB-NIE-G-78-0203
NOTE	156p.; For related documents see UD 020 922 and UD 021 120.
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC07 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Case Studies; Classroom Desegregation; Classroom Environment; Classroom Observation Techniques; Classroom Research; Elementary Secondary Education; *Ethnography; *Inservice Teacher Education; *Observation; Racial Integration; School Demography; *School Desegregation; Social Science Research; Teacher Attitudes

ABSTRACT

The Multi-Ethnic School Environments Study evolved in response to the need for a research base for identifying special teacher training needs in newly desegregated school districts. The ultimate goal of this five year project is to generate teacher training processes and materials to aid teachers in coping with the realities of desegregation. The first phase (1978-1979) was a year of ethnographic research which examined teachers' efforts to organize their classrooms and to encourage the integration of students in newly desegregated classes. This volume of the research report presents case studies of the four classrooms which were observed for the project. Each study is introduced by background information on the community, school district, and the desegregation plans. The school and classroom; teachers and students; teachers' beliefs, expectations and instructional practices; and the social order of the classroom are also described. (Author/MK)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

AUG 2 2 1980

UD

ED195601

Multi-Ethnic School Environments

Final Report FY 1978-79

VOLUME II: CLASSROOM CASE STUDIES

Leonard C. Beckum
Stefan J. Dasho

Report MESE-79-1b

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Ken W. Parme
Far West Laboratory for Educational Research + Development
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

UD020933

FAR WEST LABORATORY FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

MULTI-ETHNIC SCHOOL ENVIRONMENTS PROJECT

FINAL REPORT FY 1978-79

VOLUME II: CLASSROOM CASE STUDIES

LEONARD C. BECKUM
STEFAN J. DASHO

REPORT MESE 79-1b

The work reported herein was supported by the National Institute of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare under Contract No. OB-NIE-G-78-0203. The opinions expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of NIE, and no official endorsement by NIE should be inferred.

AUG 1 8 1980

PREFACE

The MULTI-ETHNIC SCHOOL ENVIRONMENTS STUDY is a project funded by a grant from the National Institute of Education. Its purpose is to examine the teacher training needs of newly desegregating schools. The four case studies comprising this volume are part of the project's final report for FY 1978-79. The report has been organized as three volumes:

Volume I: Overview and Research Design

Volume II: Classroom Case Studies

Volume III: Findings and Implications

These case studies present descriptive background information on the classrooms observed in the study. They are intended to provide the reader with a comprehensive overview of the scenes, which are more specifically examined in the data analysts' reports appearing in Volume III.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	ii
LIST OF FIGURES	v
INTRODUCTION TO THE CASE STUDIES	
1. STRUCTURE OF THE CASE STUDIES	1
2. DESCRIPTION OF THE COMMUNITY, THE SCHOOL DISTRICT, AND THE DESEGREGATION PLAN	2
CLASSROOM CASE STUDIES	
A. CASE STUDY OF MR. WILLIAMS' CLASSROOM	6
1. SETTING	7
2. THE PERFORMERS	13
3. TEACHER BELIEFS AND EXPECTATIONS	16
4. INSTRUCTIONAL PRACTICES	20
5. CLASSROOM SOCIALIZATION	22
B. CASE STUDY OF MS. BAKER'S CLASSROOM	33
1. SETTING	34
2. THE PERFORMERS	42
3. TEACHER BELIEFS AND EXPECTATIONS	46
4. INSTRUCTIONAL PRACTICES	51
5. CLASSROOM SOCIALIZATION	56

Page

C. CASE STUDY OF MR. LEWIS' CLASSROOM 78

1. SETTING 79

2. THE PERFORMERS 88

3. TEACHER BELIEFS AND EXPECTATIONS 92

4. INSTRUCTIONAL PRACTICES 95

5. CLASSROOM SOCIALIZATION 100

D. CASE STUDY OF MS. GARCIA'S CLASSROOM 118

1. SETTING 119

2. THE PERFORMERS 126

3. TEACHER BELIEFS AND EXPECTATIONS 130

4. INSTRUCTIONAL PRACTICES 133

5. CLASSROOM SOCIALIZATION 136

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
A1	La Cumbre School	8
A2	Mr. Williams' Classroom	12
B1	Jefferson School	35
B2	Ms. Baker's Permanent Classroom: Initial Arrangement	38
B3	Ms. Baker's Temporary Classroom	39
B4	Ms. Baker's Permanent Classroom: Second Arrangement	40
C1	Hooper School	80
C2	Mr. Lewis' Classroom	84
D1	Van de Camp School	120
D2	Ms. Garcia's Classroom	123

INTRODUCTION TO THE CASE STUDIES

1. Structure of the Case Studies

The purpose of this volume is to provide case studies of the classrooms observed in the study and an overview of the Valley City School District's desegregation efforts. The case studies summarize information from the data bases that the data analysts examined. While the case studies present setting information and patterns of classroom interaction, the data analysts' reports, which comprise Volume III, draw implications for teacher training in desegregating schools. Each case study contains an overview of the social structure of each classroom--emphasizing the teacher's attitudes and behavior toward the students, the students' own academic and social behavior, and the resulting patterns of interactions and actions.

The observers were asked to convey their observations as if describing the key elements in a drama. Hence, each case study begins with a physical description of the setting--both the school and the classroom. Included is relevant background information, such as the ethnic composition of the school and the role of the school in the district's desegregation plan. Next, the performers--teachers, students, and other adults in the classroom (e.g., the language tutor and student teacher)--are introduced. The teacher's beliefs and expectations section then characterizes his/her role expectations about teaching, perceptions of the students, and attitudes toward desegregation. The next two sections (instructional practices and classroom socialization) describe the classroom scenario. Instructional practices describes the teacher's instructional methods, formats, and style; and the scheduling of subject matter, i.e., the order in which various subjects are taught and the duration of the class time.

Classroom socialization, the concluding section of each case study, begins by explaining the teacher's classroom rules, rewards and punishments, moral socialization, and the roles established for other classroom personnel. In other words, the normative order of the classroom is depicted. Next, the students are characterized in terms of both leadership qualities and adjustment problems. Friendship patterns and the extent to which students form friendships on the basis of race are examined. Finally, the teacher's strategies for encouraging social integration are presented to complete the depiction of classroom social order.

2. Description of the Community, the School District, and the Desegregation Plan

a. The community

Valley City School District, one of the fifteen largest districts in California, is located in an urban and surrounding unincorporated suburban and rural area with a population just over 100,000. The district serves approximately 30,000 K-12 grade students who live in the community. Highly ghettoized residential segregation exists for both blacks, living on the west side of town, and Mexican Americans, living on the southeast side of town. Freeways provide natural barriers to these areas. The elementary school population in 1978* consisted of 52 percent white, 28 percent Spanish-surnamed, and 16 percent black students. Comparison of ethnic distribution surveys from 1974 and 1978 shows that the Spanish-surnamed student population increased by five percent, the black student population increased by one percent, while the white student population decreased by seven percent. The 1970 census figures indicate substantial poverty in the community. Approximately 13 percent of

---

* All figures are drawn from documents prepared by the school district.

the families were below the poverty line, and almost half of the adult population had not completed high school. Twenty-five percent of the elementary students were from welfare homes.

b. History of desegregation in Valley City

Desegregation was strongly resisted by the white community when the district attempted integration efforts in the early 1960's. Following a suit initiated by the NAACP in 1973, the district was ordered by the State Superior Court to present a plan to eliminate racial isolation in its schools. On May 1, 1978, the judge noted that significant improvement in educational conditions had occurred from 1973 to 1978, and that the number of isolated minorities had been reduced from 6,600 to 2,000 students. In light of this evidence, the court accepted the district's proposed voluntary desegregation plan. The court would impose a mandatory program if the voluntary plan failed to meet its goal by November 20, 1979. The goal was to have no ethnic group compose more than 80 percent of the student population of any school. The district was successful in reaching this goal and deadline.

The district's plan for addressing minority isolation in its 37 elementary schools consisted of creating cluster arrangements for the sixteen impacted schools in order to encourage students to transfer for one or more years. Four clusters were designated such that within each cluster the total student population was approximately balanced between minority and white students. The bait for student transfers within each cluster was the magnet programs in basic skills, early childhood education, fine arts, environmental education, science-history, Vanguard (MGM), extended daycare and year-round education. Eligibility for programs was restricted or apportioned to white or minority students in a cluster, based upon the needs of the particular school housing the program. Thus, a white student attending a predominantly white school in a

cluster was eligible for the extended daycare program at one of the cluster's black schools.

Classrooms observed (in this study) were drawn from schools in three of the four clusters in the district. To provide an overview of relative isolation problems in these cluster schools, the ethnic distribution of students in each school, as of September 1978, is shown below.

School	% Minority	%Majority
Cluster I		
Van de Camp	79	21
I-b	25	75
I-c	88	12
Cluster II		
II-a	25	75
II-b	33	67
II-c	90	10
Cluster III		
Hooper	20	80
La Cumbre	94	6
III-c	27	73
III-d	84	16
Cluster IV		
Jefferson	80	20
IV-b	38	62
IV-c	27	73
IV-d	73	27
IV-e	34	66

In addition to being isolated, minority students performed more poorly than whites on standardized tests. As indicated in the district's ESAA proposal, 80.5 percent of the sixth grade students in minority schools in the clusters scored below the sixth grade equivalent in reading on the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (CTBS) in January 1979. By contrast, 46.7 percent of the sixth-grade students in majority schools scored below their grade level. These trends were reflected in the sixth-grade reading scores at each of the target schools.

	% of students below grade equivalent (50th percentile)
La Cumbre	75
Jefferson	91
Hooper (predominantly majority)	57
Van de Camp	80

The district's ESAA program tried to address deficiencies identified by a comprehensive needs assessment. Its efforts included: placing resource teachers, counselors, and "diagnosis and prescriptive evaluation centers" in each of the cluster schools; purchasing curriculum appropriate to integrated classrooms; establishing outreach programs; and designing inservice training programs for teachers and aides.

Of the 774 students participating in cluster transfers at the beginning of the 1978-79 school year, 89 were at the schools studied. These numbers had increased somewhat by the time observations began in mid-October.

In order to introduce the reader to the four different classroom situations examined in these case studies, the following sketches are offered:

Mr. Williams was a black teacher whose classroom had been bypassed when his school was desegregated. All students in his room were black. His instructional system could be described as teacher-directed small group instruction, with students doing self-paced independent seatwork.

Ms. Baker was a white teacher who transferred to a predominantly black school that was designated as a fine arts magnet. Her teaching methods featured individualized instruction and behavior modification.

Mr. Lewis was a white teacher in a predominantly white school that was paired with Mr. Williams' school. Many of his students had emotional problems. His teaching method emphasized innovative human relations activities of his own design.

Ms. Garcia was a Mexican-American teacher in a predominantly Mexican-American school. She utilized team teaching and a point-reward system to encourage good behavior and completion of work.

A. CASE STUDY OF MR. WILLIAMS' CLASSROOM

1. Setting

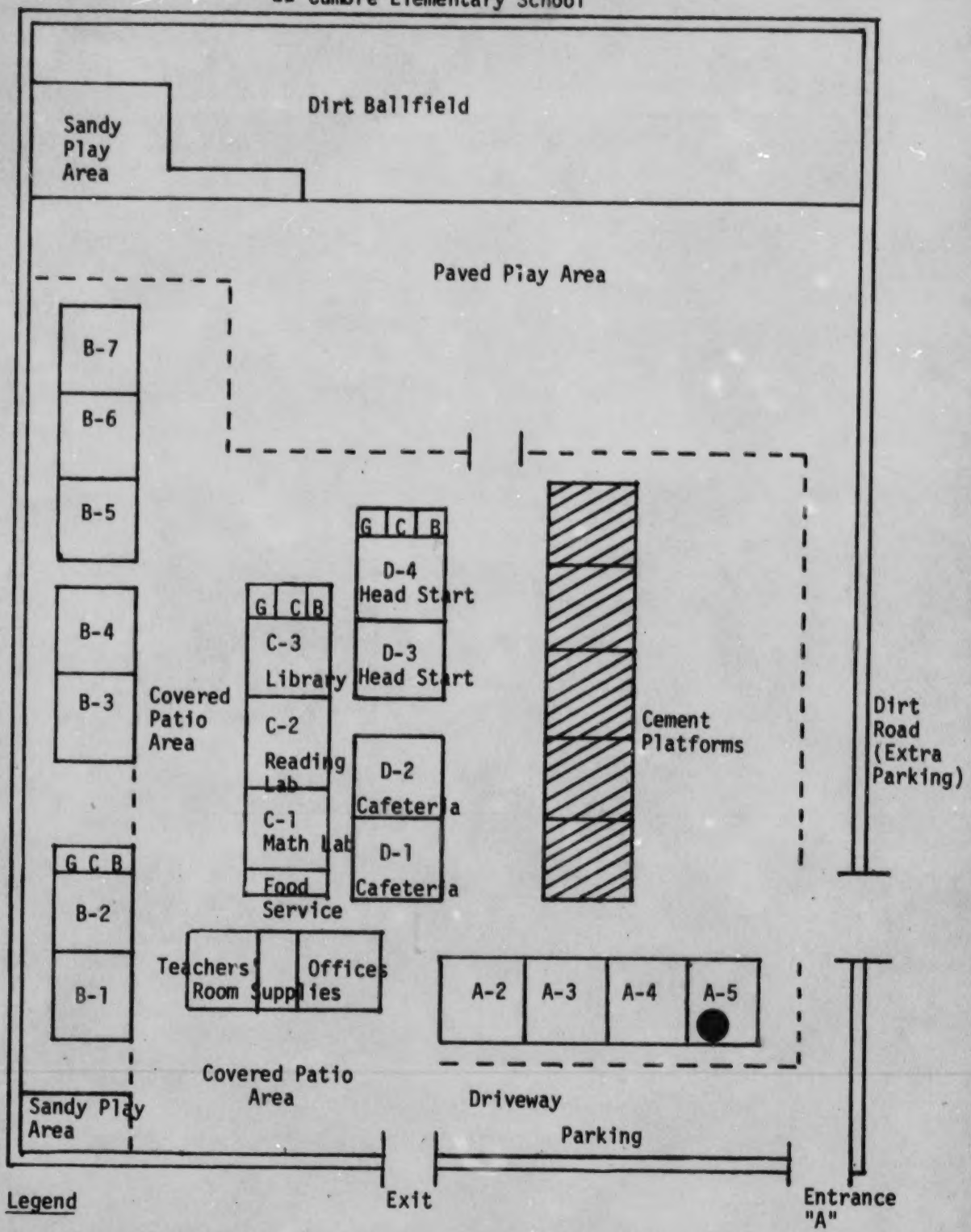
a. The school

La Cumbre Elementary School is located in the predominantly black east side of Valley School District. To the west of the school most of the properties would be classified as "rural." To the far west there is desert. To the north of the school one can see the mountains; the immediate area is residential, however. There are many businesses in the community with "For Sale" or "For Lease" signs on them, and a number of buildings are covered with graffiti. The houses in the immediate area of the school appear to be 20 to 30 years old. Although many of them have been refurbished, a number of them still need renovation. The area residents are largely blue-collar or welfare recipients. Many of the children are from single parent households. The school plant is located on about three acres. It is adjacent to a large barren field of approximately six acres that was recently (within the past two years) purchased by the school district. The school buildings are approximately 20 years old, fairly well maintained, and appear to have been painted in the recent past. The 257 students are distributed in eighteen classrooms. The four buildings contain a cafeteria, math and reading library centers, and an office. Because of its geographic location near the easternmost part of the community, the district feels that La Cumbre will be one of the most difficult to desegregate. The district noted that strong incentives would be necessary to convince whites to send their children to this school because it had previously been 99 percent black.

The entrance to the school is located on the southwest side of the plant, marked "A" on the map (see Figure A1). There is a one-way driveway with marked stalls for parking cars. The entire area is encompassed by an exterior fence and an interior fence. A gate on the outside fence is locked at night. Heading east as one

Figure A1

La Cumbre Elementary School



enters the campus and turning north, there is an L-shaped covered patio area. This area fronts the building housing the office and extends half of the length between the "B" and "C" buildings. There are many trees on the grounds, and picnic tables are arranged informally between the classroom buildings. A substantial area of the "grounds" is paved. Cement platforms are reminders of days when the student population was large enough to require the use of temporary classrooms.

La Cumbre is in a paired cluster arrangement with Hooper Elementary, a predominantly white school. While several black students had voluntarily transferred to Hooper, no whites had transferred to La Cumbre. The district set up an academic kindergarten and an extended daycare program to attract whites to La Cumbre, and the former was just being implemented at the time of the observations (five weeks into the school year). Plans were made for three such kindergarten classes to be started in the school, with each containing twenty majority and five black high-achieving students. By the end of the observation, two academic kindergarten classrooms had been set up to serve thirty-five students. Of these students, twenty-nine were white and six were black. Thus, apart from the academic kindergarten, the nonblack student population consisted of only eleven whites and two Mexican Americans. In addition, the school had a Headstart program and an extended daycare program that operated from 7:45 a.m. to 5:15 p.m.

At the time of the observations, the faculty consisted of twelve teachers. It is important to note that Mr. Williams (the teacher of the classroom under observation) was one of two black teachers and one of two male teachers in the school. The principal, administrative assistant, two secretaries, and a health aide were all white. Of the thirteen women who were classroom aides, two were Mexican American, eight were black, and three were white. The three recreation aides, a library aide, two duty assistants, a cafeteria worker, and two custodians were all black.

The principal, Mr. Harris, was in his mid-forties and served as principal for two schools in the district. Of his eighteen years with the district, twelve had been spent as a classroom teacher. He spoke with enthusiasm about the educational offerings at La Cumbre, noting that it had programs typically found in larger schools. He was hopeful that the new academic kindergarten would give additional status to the school, resulting in its being considered an institution for high-achieving students.

Mr. Harris took a strong administrative role in the school by setting up a daily teaching schedule for subject matter, and by frequently checking the classrooms to be certain that subjects were being covered during their assigned times.

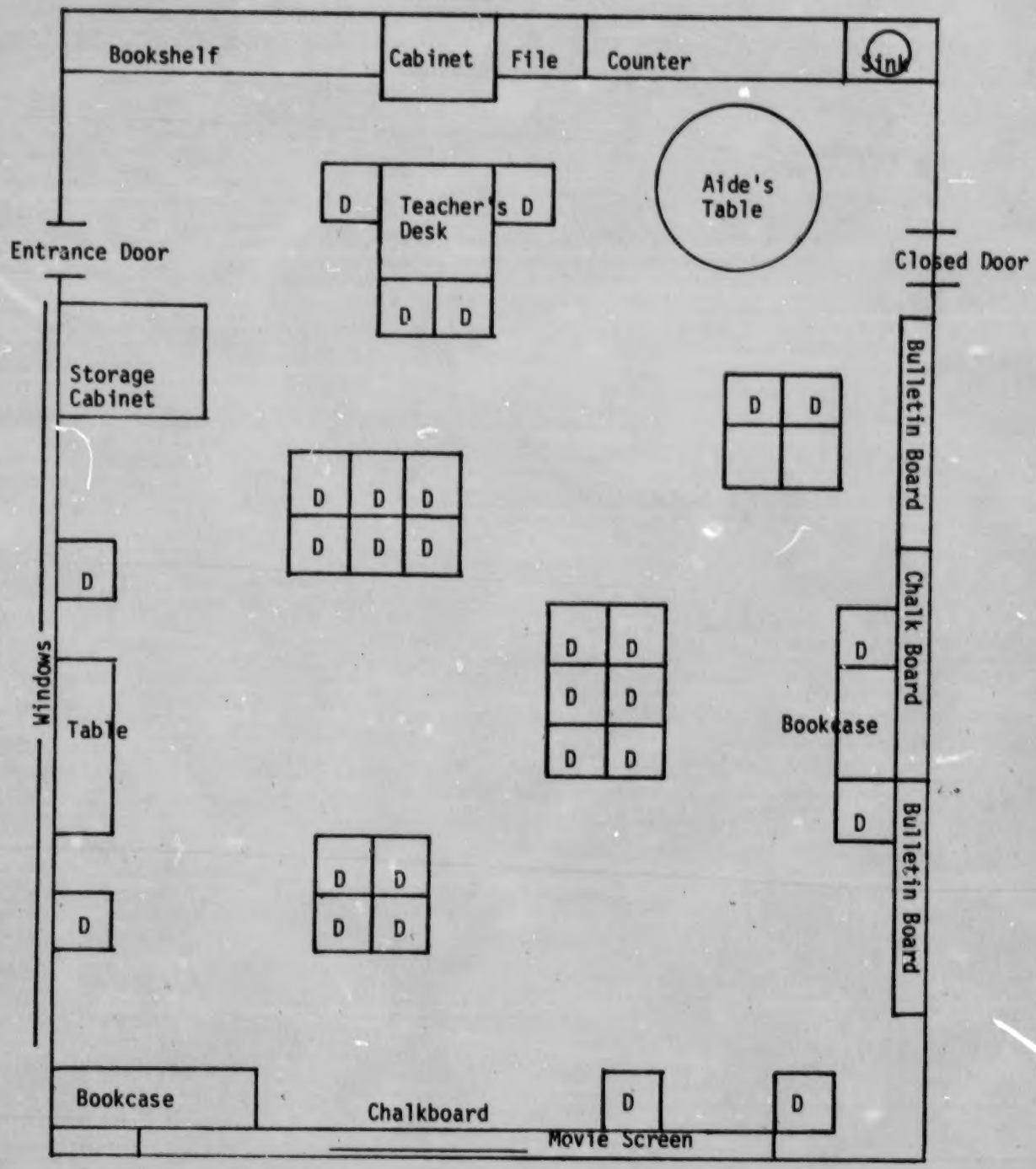
b. The classroom

Mr. Williams' classroom was located at the south end of "A" wing (see Figure A1). There were windows along the east wall. The north wall contained a blackboard, a clock, and a movie screen. The west wall contained two bulletin boards on either side of another chalkboard. The bulletin board at the south end of the west wall exhibited a math display and a Month of October calendar. The other bulletin board showed prefabricated cut-outs of various vegetables and fruits with their names affixed below them. All artwork was manufactured. No displays of student artwork or academic work were visible. A globe was on a bookshelf below the northernmost bulletin board. There was a projector with a projection stand in the northwest corner. There was a closed door in the west wall, displaying a poster of the Rams football team logo. The southern or back wall contained cabinets for files and storage and a bookshelf in the southeast corner. There was a doorway near the southeast junction of the room (opposite the closed door in the west wall). There was a flag in the northeast corner of the room. Desks and tables were arranged in six groups around the

room. There was another enclave of tables and desks grouped together in the back center of the room. This was where the teacher laid out his paper work. A large round table, to the left rear of the room, was used as the aide's station. The room appeared cluttered with desks and tables (see Figure A2). There were many books on the shelves. Lighting was adequate, mainly because of the windows along the east wall.

Figure A2

Mr. Williams' Classroom



Legend

D Student Desk

2. The Performers

a. The teacher

Mr. Williams was a slender, soft-spoken black man in his early thirties. He had taught for eleven years. He had been in the Valley City School District nine years--eight of them at La Cumbre School. His other experience included one year teaching Native Americans in a boarding school, and one year teaching Mexican Americans. Thus, all his teaching experiences had been in educating minorities.

One ethnographer noted that in informal conversations with some of the other teachers (all older white females) she was told that staff morale was high on campus. By contrast, Mr. Williams expressed the belief that morale was low. He attributed this to the principal. He felt that teachers were not allowed to participate in decision making regarding, for example, rules for the playground and lunch behavior. According to Mr. Williams, the staff felt that the present administrator was dictatorial, and did not spend enough time on campus (unlike the former principal, who was well-liked). This was the second year of the new principal's administration. He split his time between two campuses.

Mr. Williams served as a "disseminator," i.e., the school's representative to the district's Desegregation and Integration Planning meetings. At least once a month he attended a half-day meeting and then reported back to the faculty. He felt that the faculty did not respond well to the information sessions; they would just as soon see full-scale bussing go into effect as hear about efforts to encourage parents to move their children.

b. The students

All students in this combination fourth-fifth grade classroom were black, with the exception of one student who was a black-Hispanic blend. Despite the fact that this school was paired with a majority school for the purpose of desegregation, the influx of whites was at the primary grades. Uppergrade blacks from this school could voluntarily transfer to Hooper school. The teacher characterized the students' families as "not well off" and noted that about 80 percent of the students lived in single-parent homes.

Academically, the class was characterized as average to low average achievers. Fall CTBS tests were not administered. Spring tests from the previous year were available for 19 of the 29 fifth graders. These data represent an approximation of beginning-of-the-year competencies, although summer learning loss is not accounted for. A comparison of fall and spring fourth-grade tests reveals that many students had made little progress, while others had made tremendous gains. For example, six students gained less than one grade level in reading, while ten gained more than three and a half grade levels. Of these ten students, seven scored above the sixth grade equivalent. Such unlikely scores tend to cast suspicions on the administering of the test and the reliability of the results. Mr. Williams' descriptions of his students indicated that most of them were "about where they should be," except for some students who had problems in math.

Despite the racial homogeneity of the classroom, physical and cultural differences did play a part in the interactions among students. This will be discussed in the section on friendship patterns in the Classroom Socialization portion of the case study.

c. Other adults in the classroom

The Aide. Ms. McBride had been hired with Title I funds. Thus, she was required to spend 75 percent of her time with the students identified as educationally disadvantaged. Mr. Williams described her as being a very caring woman who took it upon herself to bring papers home for correction. He felt that she was not highly qualified because she had some problems with basic skills. However, in the nonteaching role she was assigned, she functioned well.

Mr. Williams firmly believed that aides should not conduct instructional activities or be responsible for discipline. He appreciated that Ms. McBride lived in the community and knew many of the students' families personally.

3. Teacher Beliefs and Expectations

a. Teaching role expectations

Mr. Williams described his approach to teaching as "traditional" in the sense of "putting out the materials to kids, learning by rote, just consistently repeating what you've done." Individualized instruction in reading and mathematics was mandated by the Title I money the school received. The curriculum materials for reading, mathematics, language, social studies, and health were all selected by the state, the district, or the resource teacher from choices offered by the district. Thus, Mr. Williams had little latitude in selecting curriculum.

He felt that his approach evolved out of experience and techniques acquired at workshops rather than from books or theory. Small group instruction was used to introduce new material, followed by independent study. Learning groups alternated between instruction with the teacher and directions for seatwork with the aide. Following this, Mr. Williams would spend his time in one-to-one interactions, monitoring a student's progress, or offering individual instruction.

Overall, Mr. Williams believed that his role was to prepare students for the world they would face after school.

> Basically, there are things that students have to know in order to function in the society...I think when they leave the classroom [they will know] a little more about the world around them. I mean that each student should realize that each person is an individual, we're all different.

Another important emphasis in Mr. Williams' approach to teaching was understanding the home situation of his students. When speaking of the white teachers' fears about coming out at night to school meetings, he said:

> ...I am not afraid. Even if I were teaching in an all white school, I would do the same type of things that I

am doing now. I would make contacts with the parents because you [must] put responsibility on the parents.

He chided the white faculty for failing to face up to this responsibility:

> You are dealing with something which we shouldn't have to be dealing with in 1978. You are dealing with people who are afraid of black people. That's all it is. They [the teachers] are afraid to come out to the school at night because they are afraid something is going to happen to them. So they are trying to alleviate this problem by having fewer and fewer meetings at night.

b. Perceptions of the students

Mr. Williams described his current group of students as the best he had had with respect to discipline because they were not attention-seekers.

> The reason I feel they're [the best] is because most of the students are babies in their families ...and they receive quite a bit of attention at home, and they don't have that basic problem.

Mr. Williams believed that most of the students with classroom adjustment problems had not had a happy life. Where academic performance was concerned, Mr. Williams disregarded the students' test scores given him and began the year with in-class diagnostic tests in the skills areas. Approximately three-fourths of the students were identified as educationally disadvantaged. He believed most of these students could achieve if they could be prodded into working.

While several students had high reading scores the previous year, Mr. Williams assumed that these scores did not necessarily reflect abilities. He mentioned that part of the curriculum was designed to focus on test-taking skills, since test scores had become "the name of the game."

c. Attitudes toward desegregation

Mr. Williams favored the neighborhood school concept:

> The only way that I can see integration truly taking place is [to] integrate the neighborhoods, and that's not going to happen, because it's based on finances.... But this plan

is as good as any because it affords movement in both directions, and I think that's a fair way to do it.

He felt that the methods used to attract voluntary movement to segregated schools were insidiously discriminatory:

> The way they are doing it at my particular school, they have what you call an academic kindergarten program where eighty percent of the students participating in the program come from the majority culture and twenty percent from minority, and the problem is those kids have their own little playground. They don't come in contact with the other kids at the school. If you are integrating people, I don't feel that you should isolate them within a group of people, and this is what I just strongly dislike. Okay, now, another thing that they are setting up for majority kids is a program down at one of the minority elementary schools that is in the cluster. Let me explain first that they have one prep junior high school that's very good. The kids who go to that school make a contract with the school--the parents have to be there with the students. They make a contract with the school that they are to do certain things, and if they don't follow through, they are kicked out of the school. The fifth and sixth graders down at this minority school (that's located close to the school for majority kids) are guaranteed a slot at the prep junior high school. Okay, now, getting back to the minority kids--when they printed out the brochure describing this program, it said nothing about this class only being open to <u>majority</u> kids. They sent a copy to every fifth and sixth grader in the District. Okay, here is where the problem comes in: the principal came into the room the other morning to pass these papers out and explained to the kids the nature of the program. He did tell them that it would not be offered to...it was just offered for majority kids. If the minority showed an interest in the program, that they would set up one for them at Hooper School. He sent the sheets home. So what I am really saying right now is why single out one group of people and offer this to them; why not, when in setting up the initial programs, why not offer it to both groups at the same time? Why does one group have to show an interest in a program like this?

From Mr. Williams' standpoint, the backup plan to make La Cumbre a primary school and Hooper an upper-grade school had resulted in the impoverishment of the upper-grade program at La Cumbre. He cited, for example, the fact that he had no money for field trips and could only do one upon invitation from the Hooper fifth-grade teacher. He felt that this "lame duck"

status was more detrimental to the upper-grade pupils at his school than if they had not participated in the cluster arrangement at all.

In addition to these concerns, he felt that the exchange of teachers of the preceding three years (which was designed to create a situation of acceptance in the community and to prepare teachers for other types of students) had disrupted his own classroom. He had been removed for as much as six weeks at a time. He pointedly concluded that the programs worked to the benefit of the advantaged and only offered the minority child the privilege of being a minority in a majority school.

4. Instructional Practices

a. Instructional format

Mr. Williams' instructional system centered on individualized instruction for reading and math. Students were taught lessons in small group settings. They worked primarily at their own pace in workbooks at their desks. The teacher constantly checked student progress and offered one-to-one instruction. Students who completed assignments helped those who had not.

The skill subjects were heavily emphasized. Reading was taught at three levels. Lecturing was sometimes used for a small group of students at one level. When the students came to the end of each section of the workbooks, they would go to the resource room to pick up tests. Because a reading lab had previously existed in the school, Mr. Williams had not taught reading for seven years.

Independent seatwork in workbooks was the core of the individualized math program. The range of basic computational skills in the classroom covered single digit subtraction through advanced division. This required teacher lectures for small groups. As a math teacher for the school the previous year, Mr. Williams had had most of the students in his fourth grade math class.

In language study, emphasis was placed on the use of the dictionary or encyclopedia for vocabulary building, the use of synonyms and antonums, sentence construction, punctuation, and capitalization. In spelling, the students were given weekly lists of words. Students would write definitions and use the words in sentences. They were tested on Thursdays. On Fridays the tests were discussed.

In contrast, the enrichment areas were downplayed. One science-related activity was observed. Health texts were used daily to present subjects

such as safety and personal hygiene. No social studies, art, or music were part of the regular curricular offerings, although musical instrument lessons and choir were offered through the school. Mr. Williams indicated that a nine-week science curriculum would be taught in the spring. In addition, he would teach a geography-based social studies program and a career education program. He felt that the latter was particularly important for the students.

There was no evidence of multicultural instruction other than the content of the stories in the reading program. (This focused on the habits of a group of people in Turkey.)

b. Scheduling of subject matter

The principal strictly enforced the Title I requirements for reading and math instructional time. He would monitor classrooms to check whether subjects were taught at their established times. This schedule was:

Reading	9:00 - 10:10
Recess	10:00 - 10:40
Math	10:40 - 12:00
Lunch	12:00 - 12:40
Spelling or Language	12:40 - 1:40
Recess	1:40 - 2:00
Health, P.E., etc.	2:00 - 3:00

Variations included trips to the school library on Friday mornings, and extended free play in the afternoons with an emphasis on physical education.

Overall, Mr. Williams accurately described his instructional practices in his initial interview. There was, however, no evidence of the emphasis he claimed to place upon cultural and ethnic differences.

5. Classroom Socialization

a. Classroom rules

Mr. Williams recalled that he began the year laying down the ground rules for the classroom. He assumed the students would know what would be expected of them. He had them generate a list of rules that he wrote on the chalkboard. These rules pertained to procedures such as speaking in turn and when it was permissible to go to the bathroom.

Mr. Williams felt that students behaved well when they recognized "what the teacher expects." He described consistency and routine as the key:

> By being consistent, going through teaching day after day with routines and reminding about rules: "If you turn in a math paper you are not going to turn in [one] that's all torn up."
>
> But it has to be done. Then, it can't be changed [if] you allow kids to turn in sloppy work. Then...you can't come up two weeks later and say, "Okay now, you're going to change from here on in."

The ethnographers noted that few rules about routines were actually formalized. The exception was the requirement to raise hands to get the floor or to ask permission to sharpen pencils or go to the bathroom. This reflected (1) that students spent most of their time being supervised directly in small group instruction or working on assignments at their desks, and (2) that the teacher expected them to know how to behave as a result of experience with other teachers in the school.

Similarly, rules related to schoolwork were straightforward:

> "Be responsible to take homework home and bring it back the next day."
>
> "Write your name on all papers in the upper right hand corner."
>
> "Write in cursive, not printing."
>
> "When ready to take a unit test, ask the teacher for permission to go to the resource room."

Thus, while not burdened by intricate rules and routines, the tone of the classroom was designed to be serious and worklike. Talking and moving about the room were allowable only when related to work. Students were admonished for socializing. The teacher seemed to keep a close watch on conversations and would observe to determine if the talk was off-task in nature before making a move to stop it.

b. Rewards and punishments

According to Mr. Williams' philosophy,

> If you don't have many problems with [students], then you don't need a lot of rewards, a lot of extra things in order to maintain discipline.

In his initial interview, Mr. Williams mentioned giving candy and extra recess (P.E.) time to students as rewards for academic progress. Neither of these was observed to be given as rewards during the study.

Good behavior was never a cause for teacher praise. Good academic work was sometimes praised by congratulatory remarks or pats on the shoulder or back. Such friendly gestures were the only physical contact the teacher made with the students.

Negative sanctions were used by the teacher in reaction to students who were clowning or not trying to do their work. Such moves were observed far more frequently than praising behavior. However, while scolding might involve joking to embarrass the offender, or threats of losing recess time, the teacher, in the words of the observer, "laced his admonishments with some praise." Particularly when trying to encourage students to work, the teacher might tell the students, "I know you can do the work; you are a bright boy (or girl)," or "You are capable of doing this if only you'd try a little bit harder."

Mr. Williams' negative sanctions seemed to have a range of severity, reflecting the persistence of the problem and his own tolerance level.

The mildest sanctions were calling out the students' names and/or pointing a finger at them. A nonverbal controlling behavior--leaning over a child at his/her desk with arms on the desk on both sides of the child--was used when monitoring work and when quietly sanctioning a student who had not been on task.

Before punishments were exacted, students were usually given verbal warnings that continued misbehavior would lead to trouble. Sometimes the teacher would slam a book on his desk or hit the desk with the paddle. Punishments ranged from staying after school and loss of recess to notes or phone calls to parents and home visits. The most severe sanctions were paddling, which ocourred once for defiance of the teacher, and suspension, which occurred twice--once for a girl who had candy and once for two boys who had a fight in class.

Mr. Williams explained that prior to the observation of his classroom he had found it necessary to confront three students who had been extremely disruptive to the class. This confrontation had necessitated paddling the students. He felt these behavior problems had "set the class back," but that by the beginning of observations (the fifth week of school) many of these problems had been largely alleviated. By then, motivating students to work had become the major disciplinary effort. Observers noted that there were frequent reminders to students to get to work or to work quietly. These began to abate by the fifth week of observation.

With regard to differential treatment, both ethnographers reported that girls received more attention and verbal reprimands from the teacher. However, the tone of these reprimands was less harsh than for boys.

A few of the boys received the sharpest reprimands for being lazy and off task. The ethnographers concluded that, in general, the students who had the most interactions and received the most academic help

were those who acted up, were more aggressive in interacting with the teacher, or constituted "attention-seekers."

c. Moral socialization

Mr. Williams did not place great emphasis on inculcating values in his students. The exception to this was his concern for the work ethic. This reflected his personal concern for stressing career education and his emphasis on the importance of perserverance in accomplishing seatwork. These attitudes were epitomized by his comment to a student who had been wasting time during seatwork: "Young man, you have enough going against you because of your color without being stupid as well."

Mr. Williams did show concern that his students share an attitude of mutual acceptance. In one instance he scolded Teri when she ridiculed Keith because he was working in a second-grade math book. On another occasion Tina was sharply reprimanded for making fun of a boy's hand-me-down clothes.

Since the teacher did mention in his initial interview that he typically incorporated affective education into his curriculum through socio-dramas and role playing, it can be assumed that the students would receive more normal socialization encouragement later in the school year.

d. Roles of other personnel in the classroom

As had previously been indicated, the classroom aide served a predominantly clerical function in the classroom. Mr. Williams felt it was not the aide's role to conduct instruction or to discipline students. However, when a student had been reprimanded by the teacher and was sent to the aide for assignment instructions, she assumed the role of a "mother" or nurturing adult. Her close contact with parents provided a link between the classroom and the community.

From 8:30 to 8:50 the aide set up materials; next, she was responsible for follow-up work after basic instruction given by the teacher in reading and math. After lunch she corrected papers and left notes for the teacher about any students having problems. The ethnographers described the aide's function as mainly to correct papers. Other activities included mimeographing materials, procuring materials from the resource room, and answering questions and giving directions about assignments to students at her table. From time to time she would kneel next to students working on independent assignments at their desks to answer questions or to get them on task.

The two resource teachers at the school did not play a significant function. Their salaries were paid by state monies under the School Improvement Plan, and their services were targeted for K-3 students. However, one resource teacher was responsible for "training" the classroom aides. This was accomplished in periodic group meetings.

e. Student leaders

Mr. Williams felt that Chuck, Tina, Yolanda, and Van were students who started out with behavior problems but had leadership quality which emerged over time. His descriptions of how he approached these students poignantly reveals Mr. Williams' ability to develop strategies suited to students unique personalities.

> Chuck was always coming up a lot and said a lot. "Let me do this, let me do that." Finally one Firday I was getting ready to set up the (projector) and I called him over and told him that he would set up the machine and from that time on I noted...that every time you give him a position of authority, he is much better behaved.
>
> Now with Tina, (who) is concerned with getting everything correct on her papers, I let her at times work with a student who was at the same level. In that way she competed, and kept down some of her behavior problems.

> Van's chief ability...is centered around sports...and the boys want to be like him. I've utilized Van in P.E. periods to organize games and be the team captain.

Mr. Williams had not yet found a way to "utilize" Yolanda's social leadership abilities, which he described as leading the girls on the playground "because they think she knows everything about everything." However, she did not take an academic leadership role. Following the conclusion of observations, Mr. Williams noticed that Laurie was a magnet to other girls, drawing them to sit and work with her. However, he had not yet found a way to use this potential to encourage group cohesiveness.

f. Students with adjustment problems

As was mentioned in the preceding section on student leaders, the same students (Chuck, Van, Yolanda, and Tina) were viewed by the teacher as having leadership ability and behavior problems. The teacher thought of problem students as:

> Those who are constantly up out of their desks. They are capable students but they are exhibiting behaviors that won't allow them to complete their assigned tasks in the classroom.

Mr. Williams believed that attention-seeking was the basis of the difficulties:

> Basically, the students who are having problems are usually and, in this instance, they are students who receive a lot of attention at home or they don't receive a lot of attention at home, and I think that...their behaviors are attention-getting mechanisms.

Mr. Williams' conclusion was based upon knowledge of the students' home situations, described below.

VAN, for example, was a child who lived with his aunt and uncle. He had eight or nine sisters and brothers (in Virginia), but his uncle decided to take him. There were other children in his uncle's family. Mr. Williams did not think Van got much attention in the home. Mr. Williams reported that at

the beginning of the year, Van was unable to settle down and was constantly picking on other kids. His method of dealing with Van was:

> I put constant pressure on him by threatening him and calling his uncle--and that's been a help.

Van distracted students near him, Tom in particular. When Van was isolated at a desk away from other students, he still created distractions which the teacher largely ignored. But Tom's behavior immediately improved once Van was moved.

CHUCK, like Van, wouldn't settle down at the beginning of the school year. He preferred to be on stage, joking around to make other students laugh. He was paddled during the observation period, as he had been prior to observation, for defying the teacher's insistence that he return to his desk and/or begin to work.

Very popular with his peers, Chuck received the most attention in the class--both positive, from the other pupils, and negative, from the teacher. As mentioned earlier, the teacher found that Chuck responded well when given opportunities to demonstrate authority in the classroom. Mr. Williams noted that he was the baby of his family for eight years until he was deposed by a new baby.

YOLANDA, according to Mr. Williams, "wants to be correct all the time and she can't stand to be corrected by the teacher." A strong, athletic girl, she was a leader of the girls on the playground and ringleader in the nascent exploration of boy-girl relationships.

She was observed to pout for long periods of time in reaction to interactions with the teacher. Mr. Williams seemed to ignore this problem for the most part; however, he did contact her mother. According to him, she worked and could not give Yolanda much attention but did react to teacher home visits.

TINA, it will be recalled, was described by the teacher as wanting everything to be perfect on her paper. Working with others seemed to lessen her behavior problem because she could compete academically. However, Tina's observed behavior suggested that the basis of her "adjustment" when working with others was the opportunity to talk.

She was the most garrulous and tempestuous female student. Hence, she was the most harshly and frequently sanctioned girl in the class. She constantly performed to draw attention to herself. These performances, as described vividly by an ethnographer, were a constant source of irritation to the teacher.

> Tina really enjoyed being involved with the teacher in a negative way--in order to have something to discuss with the others girls in her clique.
>
> [When] moved to the isolation desk in the corner...she was not able to stay [seated] for more than five minutes at a time. She'd call out to the other students, talk out loud, mutter, complain, slam her desk lid and pout.

The teacher believed that Tina acted this way because of all the attention paid to her as the baby of a family with much older children. He described her problem as "basically having a loud mouth. She just yells out most of the time without even thinking about what's going on." Although Mr. Williams felt that the behavior problems in the classroom had subsided by the end of the observation period, he had not taken any positive steps toward working with Tina.

In addition to the students who fit the teacher's definition of a "problem," there were three other students in class who had adjustment problems of a non-disruptive type--Keith, Carl, and Ann.

KEITH had been identified since second grade as requiring special education classes. However, his mother refused to allow him to be placed in them. He left the classroom for reading and spelling and seemed only to go through the motions of doing academic assignments. When dealing with Keith, the teacher abandoned his usual approach--applying more pressure to students who didn't

work--to the extent that Keith was largely ignored.

Keith was not a troublemaker and was almost never the object of a reprimand; nor was he missed if he was late coming back from his reading class. He was shunned by most of the students as well and thus was hardly part of the classroom.

CARL received much disciplinary attention from the teacher for his inability or unwillingness to do schoolwork. Mr. Williams was extremely frustrated with Carl:

> I just tried all my little tricks...with him and even retained him--he's in the fifth grade for the second time. It's a pattern that he's been going through since he's been in school, and it even started in kindergarten.

Mr. Williams noted that Carl had the ability to learn but would not try. "When he is automatically promoted to junior high because of his age, he will be really lost." Carl would never do homework, and once again the teacher described the home situation as the source of the problem:

> He has the ability, but for some reason, he's not motivated. He lives with his grandmother, who is about 75 years old, and his father is an older man. [His father says] there is nothing he could do...because he has to work. When you send homework home it never [comes] back without some excuse: "I had to go to this place with my father," "I watched television last night," "I lost the paper."
>
> And his grandmother is too old to even look after him. He has to prepare his own meals. So he is a kid who is just taking care of himself.

Unlike Chuck and Van, the criticism and prodding Mr. Williams used did not appear to have any effect on Carl's performance.

ANN was not having problems academically but was an interesting case of the social isolate. Her family were Muslims and chose to separate themselves from their neighbors. Ann was not allowed to make friends with her classmates and neighbors. She had frequently been absent due to sickness (asthma) but received special tutoring twice a week. Ann was quiet and sad-looking in class. She seldom smiled. An additional educational problem was created by

the fact that Ann seldom wore the glasses she badly needed. The teacher and ethnographers agreed Ann felt her glasses set her apart from the class.

g. Friendship patterns

The absence of nonblack students obviates a discussion of interethnic friendships. It is significant to note that there was an awareness in the class of the ascription of values to certain physical features within black culture. Grade of hair and skin color were two relevant characteristics that were referred to by the students. Mimi, for instance, who was Spanish surnamed and may have been Hispanic/black, was not treated differently but was said to have "good hair" by the other girls, some of whom were very conscious of hairstyling. "Good," in this context, was taken to mean slick and fairly straight rather than dull and kinky. In another incident, Van asked Ted (one of the boys who carried combs) if he might use his comb. Ted replied,"I don't want my comb in your nappy hair." The ethnographer reported that since each boy's hair was of a similar grade, this was a put-down based on the values placed on certain physical characteristics.

It appeared that skin too light or too dark was a possible topic for banter. Students referred to light-skinned boys on the playground as "yellow" in a derogatory fashion. When scolding each other, students made comments such as "Get your black butt out of here" or "I can't stand him with his black butt." The teacher, who overheard the former instance, reprimanded the student by saying, "What did you have to say that for? That wasn't nice."

Within the class students were grouped in seemingly tight-knit groups of two or three friends. Students identified as classroom leaders were social magnets. Ann, the Muslim, and Keith, the academic failure, were the two social outcasts.

h. Efforts to encourage social integration

Because of the nonethnic classroom, the teacher was not in a position to encourage integration. Although he indicated that multicultural materials were available and would be used, there was no evidence of them during the six weeks of observation, with the exception of one reading story about Turkish characters.

There had been several instances of the upper-grade black boys hitting white primary grade boys. Once incident involved Tom. It did not escalate because the younger boy's teacher did not speak to Mr. Williams about the matter. But Mr. Williams, in scolding Tom later, told him not to play with students who were younger. He made no mention of white students whatsoever.

Mr. Williams, discouraged as he was about the progress of desegregation, did not make opportunities to encourage pluralistic tolerance. He appeared to have channeled these concerns into a human relations program designed to teach acceptance of individual differences. However, this program had not been implemented by Thanksgiving vacation.

B. CASE STUDY OF MS. BAKER'S CLASSROOM

1. Setting

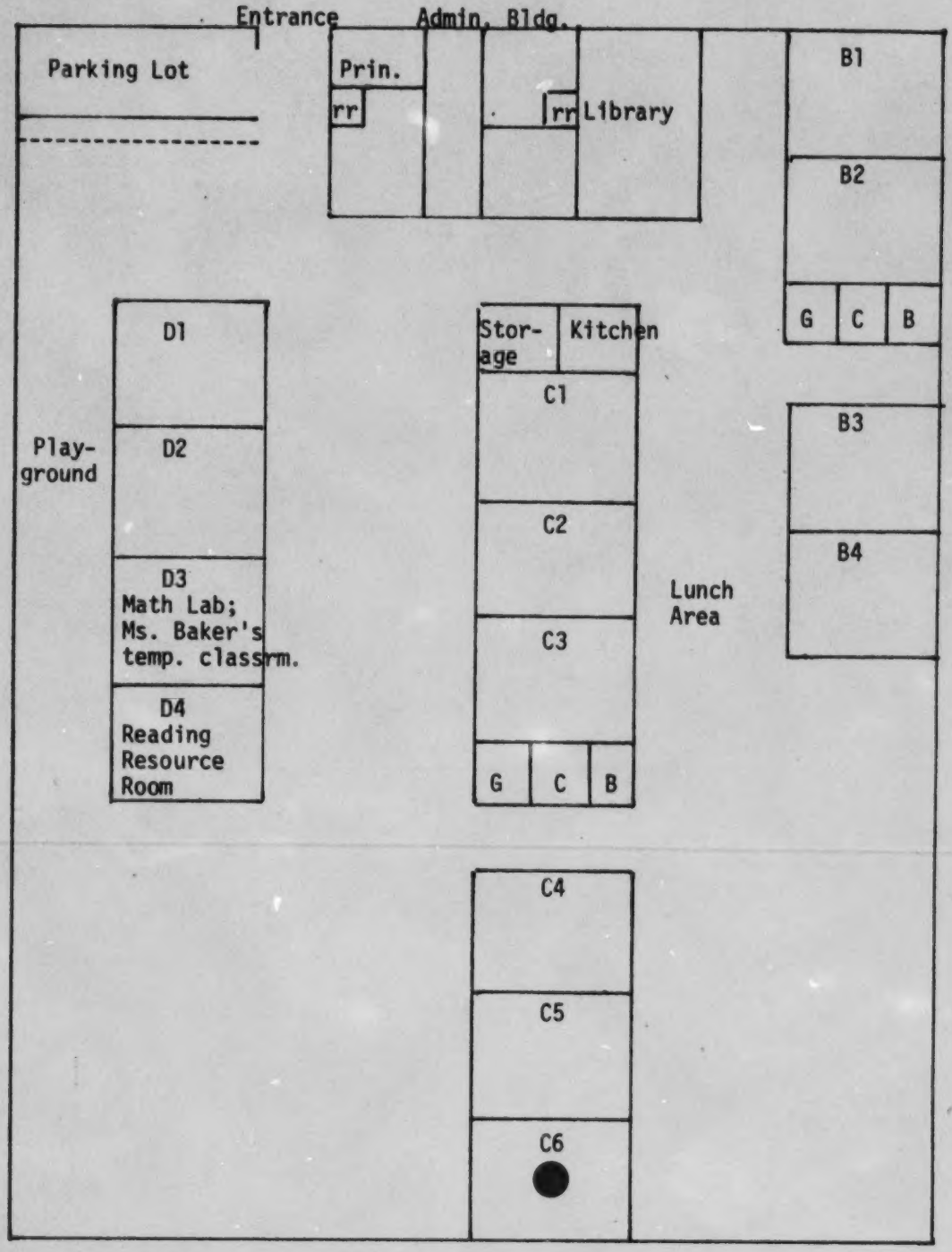
a. The school

Jefferson Elementary School is located in the predominantly black west side of Valley City. In order to attract white students, the school was designated a Fine Arts Magnet. In addition, it included a Vanguard (MGM) program sixth-grade classroom and a Headstart classroom. These desegregation efforts resulted in an increase in the white population to slightly more than 20 percent of the 222 students. The previous year white students accounted for only five percent. White participation in the school increased from 31 in September to 43 in October. Twenty of the 31 white students at the beginning of the year, however, were in the MGM program. In October, the ethnic breakdown of the school was 68.9 percent black, 19.4 percent white, 7.6 percent Mexican American, and 3 percent Native American.

The neighborhood around the school consists of single family, ranch-style homes that are fairly well maintained. There are no sidewalks along the streets. There are entire blocks of boarded up homes, which give the area a run-down appearance. These homes had been evaculated to provide the right-of-way for a highway that no longer is going to be constructed. A large field of dead grass adjoins the school grounds to the south.

The school was built during the fifties. It consists of several classroom buildings and an administration building (see Figure B1). The "B," "C," and "D" wings each contain four classrooms. Between the "B" and "C" wings is a covered, open-air lunch area. The "D" Wing is at the southern end of the school, next to the playground. The administration building contains the principal's office, the library, the teachers' room, a nurse's office, and a resource room. The play area is equipped with a baseball diamond, climbing equipment, and old swings. Most of the area between the buildings is paved. There are only a

Figure B1
Diagram of Jefferson Elementary School



Legend

-----	Fence	rr	Restroom
●	Ms. Baker's Permanent Classrm.	C	Custodian
B	Boys' Restroom		
G	Girls' Restroom		

42

few trees and shrubs decorating the front of the school, next to the parking lot. The parking lot is just off the street and can hold 30 cars. The grounds were free of trash, and the facilities generally in good repair. There was some graffiti in the restrooms, which were otherwise clean. Classroom floors were covered with linoleum. The rooms were not air conditioned. The walls were being repainted in typical institutional green or blue.

At the time of the observations, the staff of the school consisted of eight teachers (all female), including one fine arts teacher, and an aide for every classroom. There was also a host of special service personnel, funded mostly through ESAA monies--including a resource teacher who had two aides (one for the math program and one for the reading lab program); a parent volunteer-coordinator; a community aide, who was not working because of illness; a librarian; a child development teacher who took students with disciplinary problems on a drop-in basis; and resource people from the state college who were coordinated through the district. Speech and hearing therapists were also on campus when needed. Six aides, the child development teacher, and one classroom teacher were black. Four aides were Mexican American. All other teachers were white.

The principal, Mr. Rogers, was white and in his late forties. He had been reassigned to Jefferson School in April of that year. He was on campus 75 percent of his time, and retained some administrative responsibility at another school. A long-time teacher in the district, he had been a colleague of Ms. Baker's for many years. He hoped to gain more community support, but this was difficult because he was new to the school and had replaced a well-liked, black principal.

Mr. Rogers felt that the district had been dragging its feet with regard to desegregating the schools. He would have preferred one or two years of actual school participation to the five years of planning units (proto-clusters), which exchanged students for short intergroup educational experiences.

Mr. Rogers reported that there was no conflict to speak of involving the bussed students. According to him, most fighting and hostility occurred within, rather than between, each racial group. In his view white and black students seemed to be associating with each other more often as the weeks passed.

He was enthusiastic about the school program but felt that the magnet concept would not attract the expected number of whites. He felt that the area around the school was economically depressed, and that poor economic conditions were reflected in the high turnover in the school student population. Recruitment of whites to predominantly minority schools would be Mr. Roger's first priority as a method of bringing about integration. He believed that only a voluntary program would work.

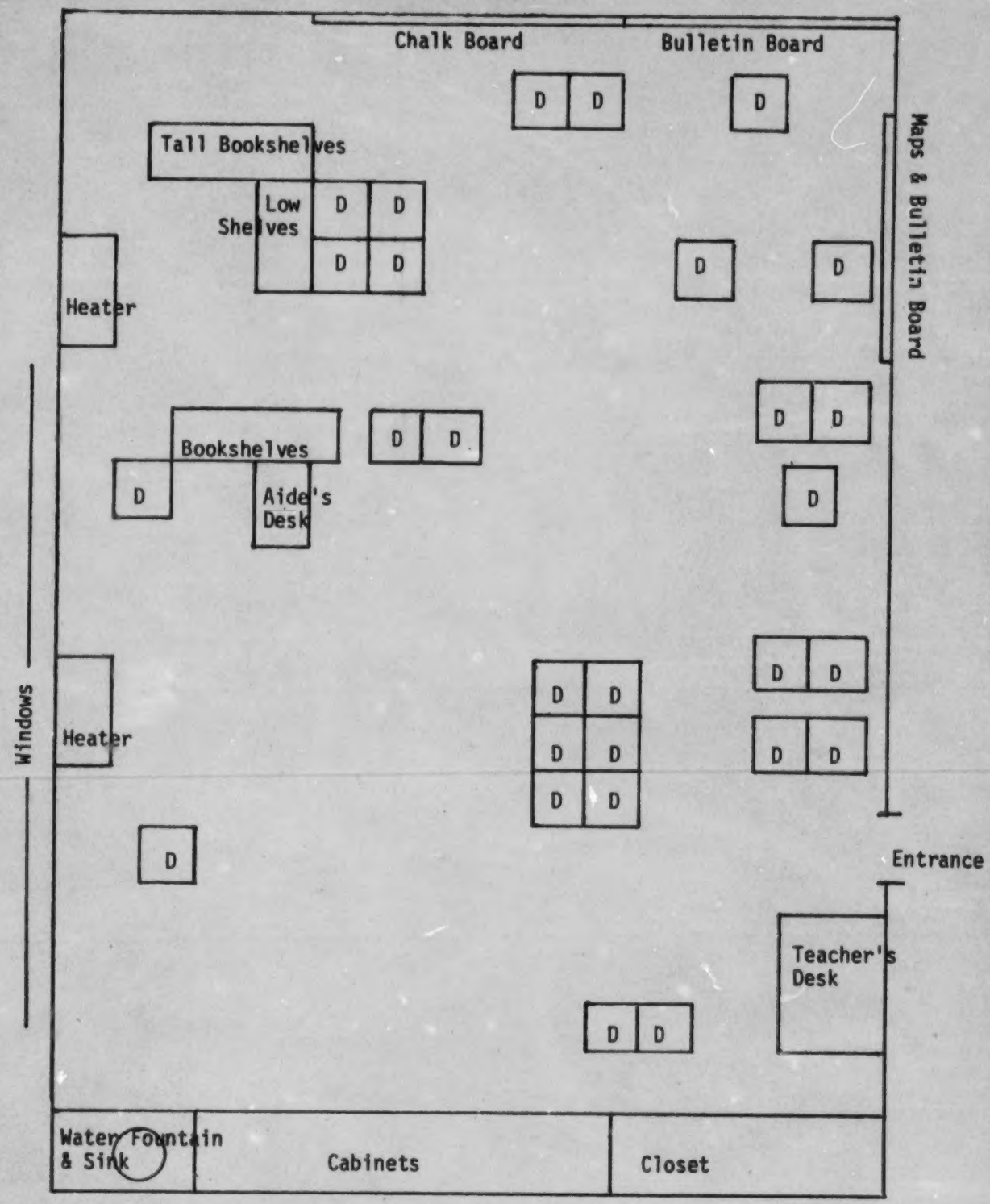
b. The classroom

Ms. Baker's room (see Figure B2) was being repainted. As a result her class was housed in the math lab(which was not yet in operation) for the first five days of observation (see Figure B3). The bookshelves and materials stored here for math activities created overcrowded conditions. Students brought their own desks from the regular classroom and set up clusters with their friends. The clusters filled the remaining available space,except for a central open area.

When class resumed in the permanent classroom, the furniture was rearranged (see Figure B4). The aide's desk moved from the middle of the room to just left of the rug in the right back corner of the room. The students' desks were arranged in six clusters, with students generally facing toward the front chalkboard. In addition, there were four separate desks. The room was freshly painted in pastel institutional green, and students' artwork decorated the bulletin boards. Next to the bookshelves was an inviting-looking area for selecting books. The back wall had built-in classroom fixtures--a closet, cabinets with counter top, and a sink with water fountain. Although there was no air conditioning to mitigate the desert temperatures, the large windows on the north (shady)

Figure B2

Ms. Baker's Permanent Classroom:
Initial Arrangement

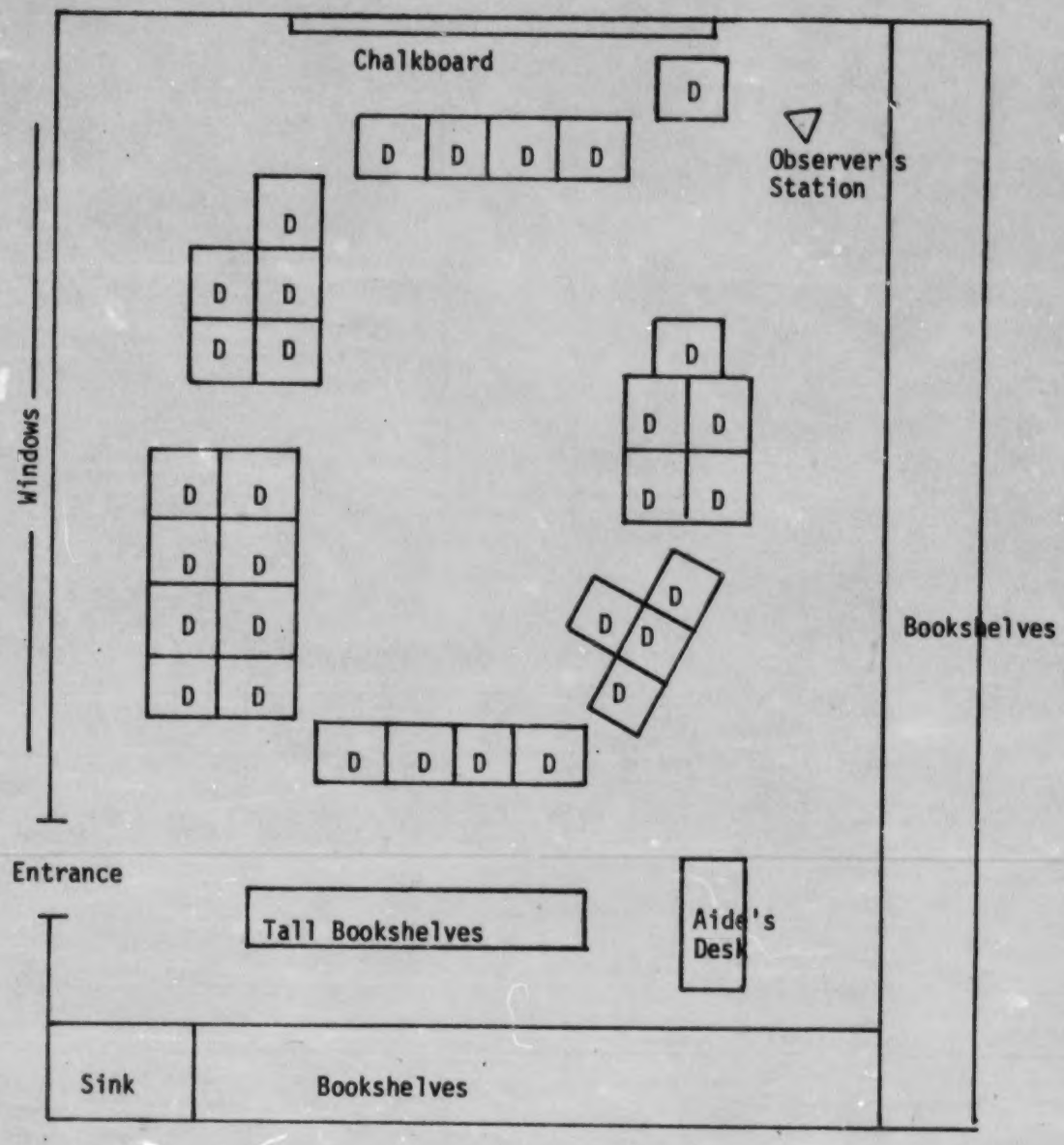


Legend

D Student desk

Figure B3

Ms. Baker's Temporary Classroom

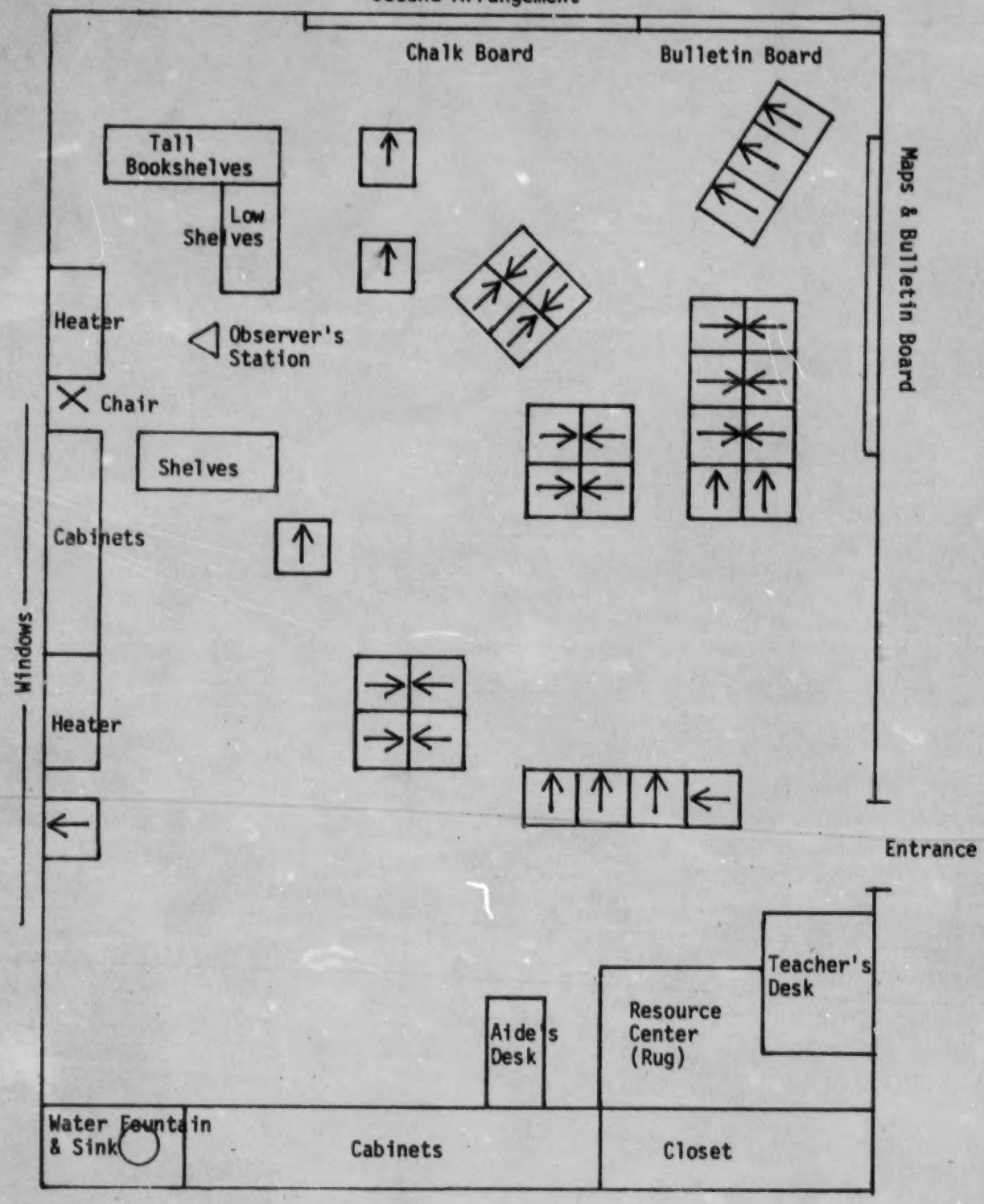


Legend

D Student desk

Figure B4

Ms. Baker's Permanent Classroom:
Second Arrangement



Legend

→ Indicates direction student faces

side of the room prevented it from becoming uncomfortably hot. Beneath the windows were cabinets and heating units. The front (east) wall contained a chalkboard and bulletin board. Maps and a bulletin board were on the south wall between the front of the room and the door to the classroom. The floor was a dull asphalt tile. Student's desks were not new and were constructed of metal with plastic laminated lids that lifted.

2. The Performers

a. The teacher

Ms. Baker was white, 47 years old, and a widow. She had been teaching for 25 years. Twenty-one of those years were in the Valley City District. She had volunteered to transfer to Jefferson Elementary the fall of the study. Previously, she had been teaching in an upper middle-class, predominantly white school. Her experience included eleven years as a teacher in a school with predominantly black and Mexican-American students. Ms. Baker received her Master's Degree in Fine Arts and Theater teaching and was enthusiastic about the Fine Arts Magnet. She aspired to someday move out of the classroom and into an administrative position. Her seniority in the district made most entry level administrative positions financially unattractive, however.

b. The students

This classroom was a predominantly black, fifth-sixth grade combination. The ethnic/racial breakdown was as follows:

	Beginning of Year	November 22nd
black	23	18
white	3	4
Mexican American	2	4
Native American	1	1
Total	29	27

Ms. Wilson, the school's adjustment teacher, informed the ethnographer that the group of students who were in Ms. Baker's classroom had been taught by a number of different teachers the previous year because they were difficult to handle. The class composition changed over the course of the observation. By Thanksgiving, five black students had left the class, while one white and two Mexican-American students had been added. Two additional white children were in the classroom temporarily. Academically, the classroom scored quite low on the achievement tests. Only four students scored higher than one grade equivalent above

their grade equivalent on fall reading and math CTBS tests. Three of these four students were white. On the other hand, 77 percent scored below the fifth-grade equivalent in reading, and 63 percent scored below it in math (see chart below).

Fall CTBS Reading Scores	>1 Year Below Grade Level			Within 1 Year of Grade Level			>1 Year Above Grade Level		
	5th	6th	T	5th	6th	T	5th	6th	T
black	-	16	16	4	1	5	-	1	1
white	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	2
Mexican-American	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Native-American	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total*	0	19	19	5	1	6	1	2	3

Fall CTBS Math Scores	>1 Year Below Grade Level			Within 1 Year of Grade Level			>1 Year Above Grade Level		
	5th	6th	T	5th	6th	T	5th	6th	T
black	-	16	16	4	2	6	-	-	-
white	-	-	-	1	1	2	1	-	1
Mexican-American	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Native-American	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total*	-	19	19	5	3	8	1	-	1

*Note: These figures do not include those students who arrived after testing.

c. Other adults in the classroom

The Aide. Ms. Connelly was a thirty-year-old white woman whose husband was in the Armed Forces. She served a clerical function. She corrected assignments and kept track of the behavior and achievement awards paperwork. In addition, she conducted both individual and small group instruction. Ms. Baker thought of her as an excellent working partner.

Unfortunately, Ms. Connelly was going to accept a job in the school her daughter attended and would leave Ms. Baker's class after Thanksgiving. Ms. Baker was sorry to see her go. She felt they worked well together, and she would have to break in a new person. In particular, the teacher appreciated that Ms. Connelly anticipated securing supplies for activities, did things without being reminded, and was a good recordkeeper.

The Social Adjustment Teacher. Ms. Wilson was a black woman in her thirties whose major function seemed to be as the school's counselor, or discipline teacher. Students who were having problems, either emotionally or with completing work, were sent to her with their schoolwork for part of the day. She purportedly used behavior modification techniques to get students to alter their behavior. Since her classroom was not observed, it was not clear whether her time with the students had the character of a counselling session or a holding tank. An indication, however, was given by Ms. Baker's frequent threats to misbehaving students that they would be sent to Ms. Wilson. She had been a classroom teacher at the school and lived in the neighborhood. (She is referred to in the text of the case study as the "adjustment teacher.")

The Fine Arts Resource Teacher. Ms. Henley was a white woman in her twenties who coordinated the fine arts program at the school. Students were allowed to attend a voluntary program from 12:20 to 1:15. This spanned part of the lunchtime recess and a portion of the following class time. Some students were also taken out of

the classroom for art activities at 1:00, 1:30, or 2:00. The scheduling of these activities was a sore point with Ms. Baker. In discussing the problem, Ms. Henley maintained that the scheduling uncertainty was produced by causes that she could not control.

3. Teacher Beliefs and Expectations

a. Teaching role expectations

Ms. Baker's favorite motto was "Teach the child, not the subject." She believed that instruction should start at the child's skill level regardless of grade level. This could be accomplished through individualized instruction. Ms. Baker believed her greatest strength was flexibility. She meant by this her commitment to finding alternate ways of instructing and grouping students and her ability in selecting materials tailored to the student's situation. According to Ms. Baker, lesson plans for long units always need to be modified. Different forms of classroom organization are required for small group, large group, and individualized instruction.

She held two goals for the students--that they perform at grade level and that they feel better about themselves and each other:

> It is unrealistic for all of them to perform at grade level. I know that this is not going to be possible but I am for it. ...What you need to do is keep pushing at their [the students'] frustration level without giving away your own expectations. This can be very frustrating to a teacher once in a while, but you need to push and expect as much as that child's emotional stability will let you push, particularly if they are below grade level.
>
> ...My other goal is to [improve] self-image, self-concept, and self-worth. It doesn't matter what economic level or ethnic group I've taught. I've met an awful lot of them that really don't feel too good about themselves...I think that teachers should have more training as counselors--[illegible] psychiatrists--because as I look back on my teaching career, what I have really learned to do is manipulate children, change behavior patterns, and when I have a productive behavior pattern, then I teach reading, writing and arithmetic.

Ms. Baker's method for developing "productive behavior patterns" and correcting poor study habits consisted of a system of rewards for good behavior and completion of work. This will be described more thoroughly in the discussion of rewards and punishments. Other than behavior modification, Ms. Baker indicated that

the most recent academic influence on her teaching style was the Van Allen language approach to reading. In this method students first verbalize experiences or stories. The teacher then charts the story and the students copy it. Finally, they read it aloud. Ms. Baker felt that, although the method was designed for primary-grade students, it had applicability to students who were below grade level in sixth grade.

The key to motivating poor-achieving students, according to Ms. Baker, was in breaking the pattern of failure that followed them through their school careers. Behavior modification rewards, tied to individualized instruction, was the method used to facilitate this process.

> What I feel I have to do as a classroom teacher, is let them meet success. I have to program their tasks in such a way that they are going to be successful, and then I need to know the level of where I want them to go. The kids, at this point in time, don't necessarily have to know that they're on step A and I want them on step W in six months. They don't need to know that. All they need to do is go out that door and say, "I'm getting smarter and smarter and better and better, and I've done it all." And pretty soon, it's like this little train that says, "I can, I can, I can," and pretty soon, "I did, I did, I did." That's basically the technique I'm using with these kids.

b. Perceptions of the students

Ms. Baker made it a practice not to read students' files at the beginning of school to avoid prejudging them. She read the files before the first parent conferences in November in order to know as much as possible about the students. Ms. Baker placed the lack of study habits at the top of list of her students' deficiencies. She stated that the students were "very receptive and very nice to me, nicer to me than to each other." She based her high expectations of student improvement on her past experience. As the weeks passed, however, she became more concerned about their receptivity to learning.

> ...the most upsetting thing to me, that I did not know about these children, and I hope it's true just of this group, and that I'm not going to face it with every group that I have as long as I'm at this school, is the unique ability to--when they don't know how to do something, they turn you off, after the second sentence. I've got three kids out of twenty-eight who can multiply. They think all they need to do is to know that six times six is thirty-six. They think about it for five minutes and come up with the right answer, and that's great. Well, they don't need to know about the carry, putting things in the straight order. This is too much work for them, per se. They have totally tuned you out, and totally given up on this because they have decided almost en masse it's too hard to learn. That was a surprise. And every time that hits me, I--my first reaction is complete frustration. I want to tear my hair. And then, what's happened to me in the past, is I go home--usually it takes me a while--and then I come back, and I try a different approach. And so far, I have been able to work my way through this. But every time I entered into something that to me is review for a youngster that--sixth grade level--to them is something they'd never heard of before, much less, want to learn, I find a very high level of frustration on my part. That is something I was not expecting. I was expecting a group of kids who were low achievers, but who, if I approached them right, were willing to learn. Okay, what I found was a big, black concrete wall.

Ms. Baker believed that sixth graders in general have behavioral problems:

> With sixth graders you never hope to get them in shape. Everyday someone's going to have a crisis. Hopefully, the children I'm going to make it with academically will be there by Christmas. Behavior wise, all kids have their ups and downs.

Ms. Baker gave the general impression that she intended to take a positive attitude and de-emphasize the negative aspects of students' achievement levels and behavioral problems, regardless of the problems a specific age or group of children might have. She believed that nurturance and understanding were necessary to help students deal with the difficulties of childhood. She felt this to be especially true since these encouragements would be less directly available to students once they entered junior high school.

For Ms. Baker, the lack of nurturance was closely tied to the problems of low expectations for the pupil by the parents, teacher, and the pupil him/herself. Ms. Baker's own words best expressed this belief, as well

as her attitudes toward the school achievement problems of disadvantaged minorities:

> ...because I was recently transferred back to the west side, I knew I was going to be facing certain problems that I hadn't faced in the last eight years. Almost all of them had to do with social adjustment. I transferred voluntarily, wanted to for a number of reasons, I think I told you, I wanted to be stimulated, I wanted to have to think about what I was doing. I think I've been stimulated! The other one was that I knew they were going to be low economically, I have in the back of my mind the reason for this as being parent, teacher, and student expectations. I do not think it's necessary because the child is "black." I think the expectations of the parent, first of all, and then the child, are not high. If the child stays up [late]--doesn't get caught doing something--they are able to keep food on the table, then they do not think beyond the day after tomorrow--what's going to happen with this child, how is he going to productively fit into the adult world? I think the teachers, after a while, really give up, and say, well, if they don't care, I don't care either. In my first school almost twenty years ago, I had a memory of children who worked quite hard academically, and they were minority kids--it was fifty percent black and fifty percent Chicano. I really did not feel that the low test scores were just, and I had in the back of my mind I was going to go to that school, which is the lowest academic achievement school in the Valley City District, I was going to go there, and use all the behavior modification approaches I could think of that would positively reinforce--and see if I couldn't raise the scores. We have to give our sixth grade the entrance test to junior high school in the second week in January. Hey, there's no way I'm going to raise their scores very much. We gave the pre-test in October; we did a post-test, for sixth graders, in January, then we'll give the school's yearly post-test in May. The kids are almost tested out. They've seen these things so often that it's too much. Too many times to be tested, and too many times do they say, "I don't do this, not going to do it," and bang, "I can't."

c. Attitudes toward desegregation

Ms. Baker stated that her opinion of desegregation was formed twelve years ago when she was teaching in a predominantly minority school:

> I feel it's a real estate problem not a school problem. I resent the fact that the children have to bear the brunt of something that is unpleasant for adults. I feel upset about the fact that classroom educators are put in positions [in which] their business is...changing social problems. I wish that adults would realize that we work for the schools. We don't work for...the laws.

Her attitude toward the desegregation effort in the district was that it did not relate to her teaching ability.

> Personally, I haven't been affected at all. Professionally, [there is] too much worry about bus schedules, the number of bodies in my room. There was a point when I couldn't tell you whether a kid was brown, black, yellow, or green. I now have to be very conscious of what color this child is. So educationally, I'm thinking about things that don't get reading, writing, arithmetic taught, or a self-image improved. For me to know that a kid is Greek with a Mexican heritage may help me understand that child. But it isn't going to help me to teach him to be more academically able.

The teacher had mixed feelings about bussing, because of the scheduling difficulties that it presented:

> It has made it very difficult. Instead of worrying about children and how they are going to learn and where they are going to succeed, the world is thinking about the bus schedule. That is a complaint I have. Bus integration per se, I don't mind at all. People need to work together. I don't know whether bussing is the right avenue. Perhaps educational parks would be more in keeping with what people are after.

Ms. Baker was in the unique position of having transferred recently from a formerly all-white school to a predominantly black school. She observed that she had received much more inservice training from the district at her previous school in order to prepare for desegregation. She hadn't received any inservice training during the first six weeks at the predominantly black school. She volunteered to transfer three days before the beginning of school and started teaching the day after she moved. Her main problem was a lack of time to set up the room and to select appropriate teaching materials. This was compounded by not having a filing cabinet and being moved into a temporary classroom for a week while her assigned room was repainted.

4. Instructional Practices

a. Instructional format

Ms. Baker emphasized improving basic skills through individualized instruction. Independent seatwork dominated the instructional activities of the typical school day. Teacher-led small group instruction was used for the ability-based instructional groups in reading and math. Ms. Baker usually lectured the students before they began seatwork assignments. Recitation activities were observed only twice. Reading, math, and language arts (including spelling) were her top priorities. Curriculum materials were chosen either by the school or by the district as part of the ESAA program. Ms. Baker was experienced in using the reading text and workbook series because she had used them at her previous school. The language and spelling texts were in use during her minority school teaching experience twelve years ago. The math curriculum was new, and books were still not available for the entire class when the observations began. The faculty had voted to purchase a social studies textbook of which she approved. The text did not arrive until shortly before Thanksgiving vacation and had not been introduced into the classroom.

Reading. Diagnostic testing at the beginning of the year revealed that students were scattered from "level 12" (sixth grade level) to "level three" (first grade). Students were placed in workbooks at levels five, seven, eight, ten, eleven, and twelve. They received instruction in four reading groups. Each day Ms. Baker conducted small group instruction with one of the higher level groups, while the aide taught the lowest group. Students also had their own packets for reading stories and answering questions as part of this curriculum package. After the teacher finished instructing the group of the day, she moved about the room monitoring work of all students who had problems with seatwork assignments.

Students appeared to be enthusiastic about reading aloud. Ms. Baker used this interest both in the small group instruction and in the health lessons. Sixth-grade materials were made accessible to students in levels five, seven, and eight by having higher level students volunteer to read the text aloud. The USSR (United Silent Sustained Reading) program provided reading enrichment in the afternoons when some of the class was participating in voluntary arts programs. The teacher gave candy as a reward to students who completed a contracted story and presented an acceptable report. This practice, instituted during the seventh week because students were not applying themselves, was beginning to have a positive effect on work completion.

Ms. Baker set up an assigned (as opposed to free choice) learning center with a cassette story tape. Students in levels five and seven could listen to the tape as an aid for reading stories about race cars. The center was to be visited during study hall time if other work had been completed.

Math was taught primarily through independent seatwork consisting of worksheets. The school was in a transition year between the district's compensatory education curriculum and the Scott-Foresman Series. Because of Proposition 13 cutbacks, the new series was cancelled. Later it was reordered. At the beginning of the year only five or six students were given a Scott-Foresman text to augment the review of addition and subtraction. Beginning November 1st, these enrichment materials were also extended as a privilege to those students who completed their work each week. All but two of the students elected to use the supplemental materials. At the beginning of the observation period, the teacher estimated that 95 percent of the class did not know their multiplication tables. The highest group of students (who had originally started the year with the Scott-Foresman Series) was given a second test that was more advanced in grade level.

As in the reading program, the teacher took instructional responsibility for the high achievers. The least skilled students worked with the aide daily. Math quizzes were given from time to time, in addition to the pre- and post-

tests which came with the curriculum materials.

On November 21st the school's Math Lab opened. This facility was set up as a group of six centers. Each student would progress through all centers in five weeks. Among the activities were constructing graphs, figuring prices at the grocery store, and using calculators. Ms. Baker planned to use the lab for all of her class to bake cookies before Christmas, with the measuring of the ingredients providing the connection with math. Her class visited the Math Lab on Tuesday mornings from 9 a.m. to 10 a.m.

Following the end of the observation period, Ms. Baker noted that the class had made good gains on their addition/subtraction post-test. These lessons were well below sixth-grade level. She indicated that she would rely more often on group instruction when she began multiplication and division.

Language was taught without the use of text and workbook materials. Ms. Baker believed that in adult life people are judged by their ability to communicate in written form. To make writing relevant to the students' lives, they were given daily time to write in a "journal." Grammar and punctuation were corrected by the teacher and aide. Spelling, which the teacher considered to be part of the language arts areas, was taught daily. Students were given lists of words every week. They were to arrange the words alphabetically and learn to spell them. Peer tutoring was used frequently. During the last two weeks of observation, Ms. Baker introduced her preferred method of conducting spelling--having students learn dictated sentences using vocabulary words. Cheating was rampant in the spelling tests. Students either copied from each other or wrote the words on their desks. On November 17th, Ms. Baker reported that she felt this problem was abating. She and the aide checked the desks and found no surreptitious lists of words.

Social Studies and Science were not taught during the observation period, with the exception of a U.S. map puzzle assignment. As was mentioned previously,

the social studies texts arrived just prior to the Thanksgiving break. The teacher felt that she would not be involved with science too much, other than the health lessons and an optional learning center in the year.

Health was taught from a textbook. The unit concerned the digestive system and nutrition. This ran from the time of the observations until the Thanksgiving recess.

Art. Because of the Magnet program, art instruction per se was handled by the fine arts coordinator. Students who participated were pulled out of the classroom in the afternoons on a voluntary basis. These lessons, which were not observed, were purported to be preparatory for high-school-level art classes.

Because of her expertise in art, Ms. Baker intended to infuse art into the rest of the curriculum--for example, in social studies. Her stated emphasis was that students should feel free to work with a medium. The goal was to help the student's self-concept rather than to push for acceptable products. In practice, each student produced two art projects--for Halloween and Thanksgiving. Students who finished math or other independent work were allowed to draw or paint.

Music. On rare occasions, Ms. Baker would turn on a record player to have a sing-along. Music instruction, including piano lessons, was also part of the fine arts program.

Physical Education was scheduled flexibly to allow for days when students had short attention spans and needed to release pent-up energy. There was no instruction per se. Students played team sports.

Affective Education was considered by Ms. Baker to be important. It was not presented through curricular materials, however. One could say that it was implicit in a number of activities, e.g., an art lesson in which students had to cooperate with a neighbor in order to complete the task. None of the typical topics, such as understanding and expressing feelings, accepting others' differences, and resolving conflicts, were presented.

Multicultural Education was addressed obliquely, although Ms. Baker was on the school's multicultural committee. Her class shared P.E. soccer games with the sixth grade Vanguard Program, a predominantly white program. The two classrooms were divided so that half of each became teammates. Ms. Baker felt this was accomplishing the most good with respect to improving relations between blacks and whites at the school.

b. Scheduling of subject matter

Typical days in Ms. Baker's classroom followed the schedule below:

Writing in journals (language arts)	8:15
Pledge of Allegiance	9:15
Reading	9:20
Recess (and Physical Education)	10:30
Math independent seatwork	11:00
Exit of students who worked in cafeteria	11:45
Lunch/Fine Arts Program	12:00
Silent reading (USSR)/Fine Arts Program	1:00
Announcement of after-recess activity	1:30
Recess	1:35
Study Hall/Health/Art Activities	2:00
Dismissal	2:50

The main scheduling problem for the teacher--one that tested her patience--was that the fine arts teacher did not give advance notice of scheduling changes. She felt that the irregular comings and goings of students disrupted her planning.

There were also other reasons for change in the schedule. Spelling was often included in the language period. Math quizzes sometimes started off the day. And the class went to the school library Mondays from 11:00 to 11:45. During the parent conference weeks, the school operated on a "minimum day" schedule--dismissal at 1:00 and a half-hour lunch period. Ms. Baker believed that students were able to concentrate on academic learning in the morning and, consequently, arranged her schedule to teach the basic skills during the morning hours. All of the "pullouts" of students (fine arts, language tutoring, sessions with the social adjustment teacher, and musical instruction) occurred during the afternoons.

5. Classroom Socialization

a. Classroom rules

In general, Ms. Baker enforced some rules strictly and was flexible about others. In terms of classroom routines, students were required to have clean desks before they were dismissed. Sometimes they were required to place their chairs on the desks. Students were supposed to ask permission to go to the bathroom, but violations were frequent and for the most part overlooked. Students were in charge of their own schedules for art, dance, music lessons, and cross-age tutoring, and left the room without reminder or permission. Students were allowed to move about the room to sharpen pencils, or to approach the aide to have her correct papers. For the most part, students were permitted to walk about freely unless they were disturbing the work atmosphere. Although students were told they were free to sit where they pleased, or to turn their desks in the clusters to face any direction, these options were rarely taken. Students seemed to remain at the same seats with friends. Seats were assigned when the room was rearranged. Ms. Baker tried to base the assignments on existing friendships, while separating some students who were chronic discipline problems. On occasion, the teacher did have difficulty getting students to return to their seats when they were up and about the room.

The teacher reacted to talking on the basis of whether or not students were completing their work. As she put it:

> There is good noise and bad noise. There is a time for freedom and a time for tightness.

The teacher established the verbal command "Freeze!" as a signal for students to stop talking, stop work, and attend to the teacher. This signal was sometimes used when a visitor or the principal entered the room.

The procedures involved in the instructional activities were not complex. If help was needed, the student could go to another student, the aide, or the teacher. Students did not follow a strict procedure to ask for help but either raised their hands, called out, or stomped. The teacher usually scanned the room to decide who to help. Students often copied each other's work when they were allowed to help each other. During tests, cheating was rampant. One reason cheating was successful was that the teacher needed glasses but took them off for periods of time and simply could not see the copying. She was aware of the problem, however.

Beginning in the second week of observations, the schedule of activities was posted each day on the board. Students had frequently denied knowledge of assignments they were to do. Although a few students continued to ask the teacher what they were supposed to be doing, the schedule eliminated the need for questions about the assignment. The posted schedule allowed the teacher to simply point to the board.

A similar problem existed with respect to which assignments were due in order to be eligible for the weekly academic rewards. The teacher eventually set up a system in which the aide wrote a note to each student on Thursday, listing all delinquent assignments for the week. Initially, students who did not complete daily work were excluded from any optional fine arts activities. During the course of the observations, the teacher decided to allow students to take home uncompleted tasks as homework. Since awards were given on Mondays, students sometimes completed the prior week's work on weekends.

The teacher mentioned in her daily reports that on October 20th she set up three rules for the classroom. These rules were really general principles to reinforce her emphasis on good study habits: "The room should be quiet"; "Students should plan their work to get it completed"; "Students should think about learning"

(as opposed to other interests). These reflected an overall approach to "good study habits" rather than descriptions of specific behaviors. It was the teacher's intention to put these sayings or rules on a poster so that she could point to them when students were not doing their work. However, she had not gotten around to doing it.

b. System of rewards and punishments

Ms. Baker's main classroom management efforts were directed toward the establishment of an award system for the completion of work, and the use of positive reinforcement to encourage appropriate classroom behavior.

Award system. Aspects of the award system have been discussed regarding academic issues, but the administering of the rewards played an important role in the control of classroom activities. Students were expected to complete all work assigned during the day. This was consistent with Ms. Baker's goal of having students perform at grade level by the end of the school year. Since she viewed the inability to persevere as the most serious problem students faced, she wanted to reward the completion of work--which she did in a most extensive fashion.

Students who completed work each day were allowed to participate in the optional fine arts program offerings. Later, when it became apparent that the students who were deprived of these activities were in effect being punished, Ms. Baker allowed them to do the assignments as homework so that they could participate. This action was consistent with her belief in positive reinforcement. Records were kept of all assignments turned in for the week. Students who completed the week's work were placed on an eligibility list. A listing was

worth one candy bar. Five consecutive weeks on the list gained the grand prize of a frisbee or lunch out with the teacher. At the beginning of the observation period, the students were not provided with a means of monitoring their own workload. This resulted in many instances of students asking what the assignments were, and which assignments were outstanding. The situation improved when the teacher placed all daily assignments on the board, and had the aide write notes to each child on Thursdays to inform him/her of any work that remained outstanding. The fact that awards were given on Mondays is worth noting because the students were not immediately rewarded for their past week's work. Instead, the new week began with an explicit acknowledgement of who was (and consequently, who was not) performing adequately.

From time to time, candy treats were given to students who accomplished tasks in less than the allotted time, or who did superior work in art projects. Stickers or erasers were given to students who did extra credit or difficult tasks, such as memorizing a poem or doing a book report. On November 20th, Ms. Baker established some new rewards: a sticker for every spelling packet with 80 percent correct, and an eraser for every unit test passed with 80 percent correct. Ms. Baker used these rewards as little public ceremonies to reinforce the importance of schoolwork. One unfortunate byproduct of the candy treats (beyond the cost to Ms. Baker and to the students' teeth) was the tendency of the students who were not particularly interested in doing schoolwork to perform only to get the sweets. On one occasion, when students knew they would receive treats, a boy repeatedly came to the teacher with his art project to ask if he had done enough for a tootsie roll. He would then return to his seat to draw a bit more until some minimum quota of effort was reached. It was doubtful that intrinsic motivation was being developed in that situation.

Thus, intermittently, students received immediate satisfaction for doing schoolwork via on-the-spot candy treats, stickers, and erasers, in addition to regularly scheduled delayed gratification in the form of eligibility-list privileges and candy for sustained productivity. Ms. Baker measured the success of the

behavior modification effort by the number of students on the weekly eligibility lists. She was able to raise the number from less than half the class of 28 students to 19 by the last two weeks of observation. Ms. Baker planned to extend the behavior modification program to the home environment. During the parent conferences, she wanted to approach the parents of chronic nonworkers about the possibility of drawing up parent-student contracts. According to this plan, parents would expect three hours per week of reading homework to be completed, while keeping track of TV, free activity, and house-chore time. Parents would withhold rewards, such as dessert or allowance, if students violated the contract. No such contracts were established during the November conferences, however.

During the fifth week of observation, Ms. Baker made new arrangements for Lynn and Robin. Because their academic skills were so poor, she made their eligibility for awards rest solely on progress in reading.

Control of behavior. Ms. Baker tried to remain as positive as possible about student behavior. She tried to maintain a pleasant tone in the face of verbal abusiveness and outright defiance on the part of many of the students. She frequently praised students for working quietly and made announcements congratulating the class for having a quiet and productive work period. Students who finished their work were allowed to draw. Sometimes they were allowed to go to early recess. Students who were fooling around with their friends would be asked, "Do you think you would work better somewhere else?" When Ms. Baker sent students back to their seats, she never changed their seating assignments. Sometimes she isolated them a few feet from the seating cluster.

On the punitive side of Ms. Baker's carrot and stick approach were negative sanctions to punish students who persisted in avoiding work, horsed around or fought. She felt that, according to the tenets of Assertive Discipline, limits needed to be firmly established. Thus, when punishing she abandoned her positive

approach and became quite stern. At times, however, her own frustrations led her to irritability, sarcasm, and shouting. Ms. Baker would frequently begin to count numbers as a signal for students to quiet down. When she reached ten she stopped. Whatever the counting signified, no consequences of the action were ever mentioned. She threatened to put students' names on the board if they misbehaved. This was considered a first warning. Once the name was on the board, the following judicial process was applied:

> I have a small sheet on my board that says "study habit improvement needed." They get their names on the board for behavior problems. I don't try to say "Hey, you are driving us all bananas." I try to say that you are using poor study skills. What should you be doing instead? Their name goes on and they have a chance to work it off. If they do not get a check after their name by the time they go home that night, they have effectively erased their names [and have] no record. If they get two checks after their name, they go for counseling with the on-site counselor we have.

Talking loudly or fooling around did not always result in the same consequences. The "name on the board" system was quite inconsistently applied and enforced. In practice, students were removed from the classroom or sent to the social adjustment teacher whenever Ms. Baker felt it was warranted. As many as four students a day were sent to Mrs. Wilson, upon whom the teacher relied heavily to provide disciplinary support. While the students could be sent to the principal for disciplinary reasons, Ms. Baker preferred to use the adjustment teacher. Ms. Baker did not enforce the school rule that fighting in the classroom would result in automatic suspension. However, she did send Melvin once and Jackie twice to the principal for warnings and parent calls as a result of fights. She did not believe in the use of suspension or expulsion.

Ms. Baker stated that she purposely ignored minor problems. In this regard, she varied substantially from day to day in her tolerance for misbehavior. While she consistently sent the protagonist of a fight to Ms. Wilson, she tended to let some of the incessant name calling and bantering pass unsanctioned. The following

excerpt displays a benign example of such bantering episodes:

10/20

> I hear Jake saying to Robin, "Who did you call a bulldiker?" Robin tells him, "Your girl friend." Jakes replies, "I told you I didn't like her." Robin says, "You said you like her body. You said you like her body." Jake explains, "I played her five games and beat her four and she only beat me once," and Robin says, "I know, because she's your woman," and kids around with him and begins to laugh.

On the same day, an exchange occurred that was not unique. Often when the teacher made an announcement, a student would respond with a challenging remark. The following exchange may have been an attempt to elicit a jive or bantering exchange:

> Ms. Baker goes to the middle of the classroom and says "Boys and girls will you please take your chairs; I would like to talk to you." Byron says, "You sure talk a lot." Barbara adds, "Too much." The teacher smiles and says, "Probably."

It is reasonable to assume that Ms. Baker saw herself as being friendly and accessible by admitting to the students' claim. From the students' point of view, because she did not return the insult, she either was the loser in the game, or was not hip enough to know that a game was being played.

This was not the only occasion where the teacher played into the students' hands. Sometimes the teacher's strategies for dealing with defiant students appeared to backfire and ended up with the student emerging "victorious." Such was the case in the incidents described below:

10/27

> Robin goes up to the teacher and asks, "Can I go outside?" The teacher turns and looks sternly at Robin and says, "The answer is no." Robin says, "Oh, I won't do it then. It doesn't matter to me whether or not it gets done." And then he begins to jump up and down in his chair as if he is playing music.

About 15 minutes later:

> The teacher passes by Robin, and because he hasn't been doing any work, asks him, "You said you wanted to go outside?" Robin says, rolling his eyes, "Sure did." The teacher says "You ready to leave now?" Robin smiles and begins reaching in his desk, taking a while, and asks if he can have something out of his desk; the teacher says, "No, just yourself." Robin reaches in his desk again, rears back in his seat, smiles at his friends around him, and looks behind himself and says, "Well, I'm going to take it." And then he picks up a pencil and leaves. The teacher follows with his chair and closes the door behind him.

Robin was not allowed to go outside when it would have been a privilege. Shortly thereafter, because he was not working, he was sent outside as a punishment. Like the brer rabbit who managed to get thrown in the briar patch, Robin got the reward he sought despite the fact that the teacher believed he was being punished. To gain further points with his peers, he got his pencil out of his desk to underscore his victory.

These examples are not intended to be criticisms of the teacher's intentions. Rather, they point out the manner in which cultural differences produce different interpretations of classroom events. Ms. Baker's efforts to re-socialize her students into productive and respectful habits did not seriously compete with their socialization in the community. The aggressiveness and thick-skinned exchange of insults typically associated with black ghetto youth persisted despite the teacher's gains in getting more students to finish work. The students carried out their own social order, complete with rewards and retribution of peers, independent of the teacher's agenda for the class.

In the excerpt below, the teacher's attempt to positively reinforce students for their diligence is immediately upstaged by more bantering:

10/20

> [It is just before lunch.] Ms. Baker announces, "I would like to give you all some congratulations. I asked you to do something and you did it; it didn't take anybody the entire time to get something done. So I want to tell you that this hour was

> an excellent one. Nobody went to Mrs. Wilson, we didn't have any fighting, we didn't have any arguing, I'm very proud of you." The teacher begins to say something else but instead says, "Shhh," then continues, "You know you have done something excellent, and I hope you don't forget that soon." Robin raises his hand, and Serina says something to him. Robin says to her, "Shut up, cow." Then Robin says to the teacher, "That's Serina talking,"when he notices that Ms. Baker is looking at him. She says, "No it isn't," and looks very sternly at Robin. Robin says, "I bet if Serina was to stand up in front of the board she would cover the whole thing up." The kids begin to laugh, and the teacher looks at him again very sternly. Serina says "Look at yourself, Robin." Ruby is now passing out the pink slips, and when Robin says something again very negative to Serina, Ruby says, "That sure is cold, Robin." The teacher says that she has a work schedule on the board and that the children have the option of working with the aide or working on their pumpkin [art project] or doing the comprehension sheet. She says, "Now, when you go back outside, you have a good lunch period. When you come back, don't bring your playground problems with you. I want to have a very nice work period this afternoon." She says goodbye because the bell has just rung and it is 12:00. The kids literally run out, leaving the teacher standing in front of the board.

Clearly, the disruptive students led the class in assailing the teacher's positive reinforcement efforts. Punishment and ignoring misconduct became Ms. Baker's primary responses to students' disrespectful behavior.

Yet another important aspect of the classroom reward structure is the teacher's differential treatment of students. When students requested help with their assignments, Ms. Baker responded in a caring and patient manner. She was equally patient with misbehaving students as with obedient ones when they requested her help, and maintained a pleasant manner when they called her to their desks. For example, when Burt would tap his pencil incessantly to get help on an assignment, Ms. Baker would say in a kind manner, "You don't need to do all that; all you have to do is ask."

However, her irritation with the more defiant students was apparent in the continual reprimanding they received for talking or idling. While Robin, Melvin,

Jake, Barbara, and Bunchie absorbed most of the negative attention of the teacher, most of Ms. Baker's affectionate interractions were with a few of the girls. The ethnographer pointed out that Ms. Baker was more responsive to the girls than the boys:

> The girls are often times hanging on the teacher or playing with her necklace. Ms. Baker draws for them or does things for them like cleaning out their desks. She does this less for the boys. Marcy often asks Ms. Baker to clean out her desk, and I think Ms. Baker is very lenient with Marcy, who has a negative attitude, as opposed to the boys with negative attitudes. Christine, as well, seems to want a lot of attention, and talks a lot; but she is given a good amount of leeway. Ms. Baker believes that Carol has a lot of potential, and says that she's interested in developing that potential. I don't believe any of Ms. Baker's relationships with the boys are as strong as those she has with these three girls.

In addition to her involvement with these girls, Ms. Baker tended to spend most of her instructional time with the high-achieving students. Much of her interaction with low achievers was the monitoring of independent work. This most often involved attempts to get those students on task.

d. Roles of other personnel in the classroom

Ms. Baker relied very little on the support of the other teaching staff at the school, with the exception of the adjustment teacher. Although the fine arts teacher and the math lab teacher could be considered part of the instructional system, their impact on the class was not evident. She felt her social relationships with the faculty and principal were good.

Ms. Baker turned to the principal, Mr. Rogers, as a disciplinarian whenever school rules were violated. Although he visited the classroom several times to talk to the teacher, on those occasions he did not interact with the children. The ethnographer noted that he was sometimes quite harsh in reprimanding students (including Ms. Baker's) on the playground.

The adjustment teacher, Ms. Wilson, played an important ancillary role as a disciplinarian. Not only did she receive students whom the teacher removed from the classroom, but she also came in to make announcements about playground behavior. She also watched the class whenever Ms. Baker left the room to counsel a student she had sent from the room. On one occasion Ms. Wilson took twenty minutes of classtime to deliver a stern lecture about how disappointed she was with the sixth grade's behavior. Excerpts from the ethnographer's account of this occasion convey Ms. Wilson's manner as she combined moralizing, encouragement, and threat:

> 10/19
>
> Ms. Wilson tells the class: "You may cuss your mama out at home and you may be angry at her, but when you come to school you are not going to be that way.... You have a gold mine inside of your soul...you can do it and I know you can. Whatever your ability level is, you should work up to it...and if you don't want to do any work, from now on your lunch period is mine....Baby, they've got money, money, money; they've got all kinds of help...you cannot say nobody will help me because that's a tale."
>
> "...[Ms. Baker] sets a goal for her class. The sixth graders should do seventh-grade work. She is going to the seventh-grade level with or without the children....I told her that she doesn't have to beg and tease." Ms. Wilson threatens again and again to throw the children out of the room.
>
> She tells Barbara that she [Ms. Wilson] told another student's parent that Barbara was a very bad influence on her daughter, and furthermore, that Barbara could be a very bad influence on the class.

The ethnographer was of the impression that the students were somewhat afraid of Ms. Wilson. Ms. Baker seemed to have good rapport with her and approved of her lecturing, but on one occasion their differences were apparent. Ms. Wilson told Ms. Baker that a student, Marcy, wouldn't have been sent to her for not doing her work if Ms. Baker had not assigned such hard work. This difference of opinion did not escalate into a difficulty between the teachers, however.

The aide, Ms. Connelly, was an integral part of the teacher's instructional system. She had sole responsibility for teaching reading to the lowest level group. In math, she taught small groups or monitored individuals. She did not have a disciplinary role, however. Either Ms. Baker kept an eye out for problems that arose in the aide's group, or Ms. Connelly came to her to tell her what was going on. Ms. Baker's opinion of the aide was that she was gentle and nonjudgmental. In a conversation with the ethnographer, Ms. Connelly revealed that she did react to students' personalities:

> Ms. Connelly indicated to me that she approached children differently primarily because of their attitude. She told me that children she considered very abrasive she would not approach individually if they needed assistance. Others who had pleasant personalities, she would approach and ask if she could help.

On one occasion Robin told Ms. Connelly he would not do any work for her because she had lost his paper. Ms. Baker defended her aide and demanded that the students treat her with respect. Ms. Connelly was very even-tempered and maintained a soft-spoken manner. The only time she got angry was in reprimanding a student for calling one of the Mexican-American twins a "Mexican wetback."

e. Student leaders

The teacher and the ethnographer did not identify any students who were leaders for the entire classroom. Students tended to relate to only a friend or to a few of their peers within the class. During the final interview, Ms. Baker and the ethnographer agreed in their identification of the members of these small cliques. Melvin and

Jimmie, two physically powerful, black sixth-grade boys, were playground leaders but disruptive during class. Marcy, a tall black fifth grader and a high achiever, was an influence over Connie. Michelle, a high-achieving white sixth grader, was a leader among four white students but made few contacts with other students.

When the students were asked to vote for two students to receive school citizenship awards, Dennis and Connie, two black students, were the first and second choices, respectively. This surprised the teacher since each had few friends and both were fifth graders. Connie picked fights and had a tendency to pout, slam desks and demand the teacher's attention. Dennis was a conscientious worker, but was somewhat of a loner.

In terms of using the leadership abilities of her students, Ms. Baker tried to involve students from time to time as peer tutors. She relied on this method extensively in spelling. No real charismatic or academic leader emerged among the students.

f. Students with adjustment problems

Many students displayed antisocial behavior--i.e., fighting, swearing, name-calling and pouting. Many students did not do their schoolwork or contribute to the class. Several students will be discussed who were not succeeding in meeting either the social demands of the teachers or those of their peers.

ROBIN was a black sixth grader who was the largest and physically strongest boy in the class. He challenged students to fight and was very defiant toward the teacher. An exemplary exchange between Robin, and other students and Ms. Baker is given below:

11/3

Bunchie provoked Robin by calling him a punk. Robin gets close to him and says, "Who you call a punk?" They start arguing.

> Ms. Baker walks over and pulls Robin away. He says, "You don't have to push me. I'm going to get him for calling me a punk after school. And I'm going to get you. If I don't, somebody else will." He then sits down in his chair.

Ms. Baker tried to give him some responsibility to make him feel some commitment and pride, e.g. she put him in charge of telling students what to do at the learning center. Nothing succeeded in getting him to do any school-work. His academic achievement was very low, with test scores at the first-grade level. Ms. Baker felt that Robin was "a product of too much moving and no home life." She expressed concern that he was in need of outside control all the time and "could be headed for San Quentin (prison)." He spent more time than any other student isolated in his chair outside the classroom door. In the sixth week his family moved, leaving no forwarding address. This led Ms. Baker to speculate that they had run out on their creditors.

MELVIN. Ms. Baker's frustration with Melvin resulted from the fact that his skills were at grade level but he refused to do work. He was one of only three students who received no achievement awards. Melvin was a tall athletic black sixth grader who was probably Robin's only match in a fight. He, too, was very rude and insulting toward the teacher and spent much of his time isolated outside the classroom door in Ms. Wilson's room. Ms. Baker appeared to have little patience with Melvin, owing in part to her dislike of students who refused to use their abilities. Melvin came from a very religious family and his mother was dying. Ms. Baker was of the opinion that no one took care of him at home. Melvin was given an "adjusted transfer" because of his amorous escapades on the playground. When his girlfriend protested his advances, Melvin responded with threats. She reported him to the school, and her mother threatened to remove her from the Vanguard Program if Melvin was not restrained. The girl was one of only five blacks who qualified for the Vanguard Program. In short order the school

met the mother's demands, and Melvin was transferred to a predominantly white school in their cluster. Ms. Baker felt that his poor academic skills would certainly create problems in his adjusting to the new school.

BUNCHIE was a Native American sixth-grader and was an outcast in the class. He isolated himself in a desk by the water fountain in the back of the room. When he ventured into other areas of the classroom, he generally bothered the other students and tried to play mean pranks on them. He had no friends. He frequently tattled on students, which did not win him friends. The teacher was aware that his mother was a recidivist at the state mental hospital. He was one of the three students who had never won an achievement award. Ms. Baker tried to involve him in a small group of boys for cooperative work. Although he began to adjust, he and Jake would often disrupt the group.

BURT was a black sixth grader with birth defects that left him with a flattened nose. He was also living in a foster home. These factors may have contributed to his emotional problems, which were expressed in belligerence. On the playground he was always challenging students to fights, and playing "suicide" games that involved direct physical attacks with a ball. He would be very proud when he beat up someone, but he created a crying scene when he would lose, which was most of the time. Some pupils laughed at him because of the trouble he would create.

Ms. Baker tried to be supportive by calming him down when he would come back from recess upset. She tried to get other students to remind him not to play the suicide game. After one of his fights with Jessie, Ms. Baker explained to Jessie that Burt had problems and should be left alone. Burt had some close friends who tried to help him with his schoolwork. He was well below

grade level in both reading and math. During the fifth week, his father took custody of him, and he left the school.

CONNIE was a fifth-grade girl whose lack of effort disturbed the teacher. She had been in the Vanguard Program of another school in the fourth grade, but was removed because of her emotional problems. These problems were manifested in daily tantrums of desk slamming, foot stomping, and object hurling. Ms. Baker felt that professional help would be the best way for her to learn to control her emotions. She added that Connie had "the greatest potential to go in either direction"--i.e., toward success or its opposite.

The teacher did not reprove Connie to the extent that she did the other students who did not have, as Ms. Baker would say, "good study habits." Ms. Baker was surprised when the class voted her the good citizenship award.

Several other students were either behavior problems or poor students. They will be mentioned briefly. JAKE, a black sixth grader, was something of an outcast and fought frequently. He was also absent a good deal and had been suspected of truancy in past years. He did try in class and worked hard on his assignments.

JIMMIE was a black sixth grader whom the teacher had to constantly remind to do his work. He was friendly and socialized with other students instead of working. He was sometimes the butt of his peers' jokes and was the class clown. Ms. Wilson told the class to ignore his clowning in order to get him to stop. When Ms. Baker spoke to Jimmie's mother about his situation, she told Ms. Baker to spank him. Ms. Baker indicated that she would not approach him that way. She kept nagging him to work while ignoring his other behavior. On October 27th, she refused to let him be the milk monitor anymore because he hadn't done his work.

RUBY and BARBARA were two black sixth graders who were very belligerent toward the teacher. They were doing their work but tried to put the teacher down whenever possible. Both left the school, to Ms. Baker's relief.

LYNN was a fifth-grade black girl with extremely poor academic abilities. She never achieved an award and was virtually incapable of independent work. The teacher assigned students to work with Lynn as tutors, but often they ended up doing her assignments for her.

BOBBIE was a white fifth grader who was on Ritilin. He was very quiet, smiled incessantly, and was largely ignored by his peers. Ms. Baker always spent time working with Bobbie during independent work, and according to the ethnographer, gave more encouragement and affection to him than to his classmates.

g. Friendship patterns

The ethnographer reported that the children's relationships were in flux. With five children leaving, and just as many joining the class late, groups of friends shifted to accommodate the change in classroom make-up. A number of girls dumped one friend for another. The two largest "groups" of friends were four girls (Serina, Lynn, Amy and Christine), and four boys (Robin, Melvin, Jake and Dennis), who were the class toughs. The ethnographer discovered that Connie had fallen out of favor with Rolese and Jackie because they resented her takeover of the playground "drill team." The other girls seemed to be more tightknit with one best friend than were the boys. Two cross-sex friendships existed: Serina and Rodney, and Connie and Robin. In each pair, the partners played and shared work. Connie and Robin were very argumentative with one another, as well as being girl and boy leaders in arguing with the teacher.

In terms of cross-ethnic friendships, the white children did not fare as well as the Mexican Americans. The Mexican-American twins, Lottie and Linda, lived in the neighborhood and became close with the two black girls who sat with them. They were accepted by the other black girls as well. Jack and Gilbert were two Mexican-American boys who joined the class during the eighth week of school. Jack was quickly accepted by the black boys due to his athletic, i.e., fighting ability. Ramon, on the other hand, was shy and small for his age, and was not able to make friends easily among the blacks. He would run away when threatened on the playground. The key to acceptance seemed to be physical prowess. Interestingly, by the end of observations, Ramon had become friends with Robin, the strongest fighter.

As for the bussed white students, Bobbie, in his Ritilin-induced docility, did not appear to mind being ordered around by his classmates. On one occasion, Kevin, a bully who only picked on weaker students, patted Bobbie on the head condescendingly and called him "my boy" while extorting something from Bobbie's desk. Another time, Connie returned from recess and screamed at him, "I told you to get your arm off my desk, and I'm not going to tell you anymore." Bobbie automatically complied.

The two white girls, Molly and Rochelle, were friends and were isolated from the other girls. The ethnographer described Molly as condescending and aloof toward the other students about academic activities. Rochelle was involved in several antagonistic episodes with the black girls. In one, she argued with Christine and mocked the other girl's walk. In another, Mary threatened to beat her up. Rochelle sardonically replied, "Oh, I'm really scared." Ruby, a larger black girl, entered the argument and said "You should'a just gone and kicked her ass." Rochelle then backed down.

Scott, a white sixth grader, was the last student to join the class and seemed to have an easier time crossing the social barriers to friendship with his black classmates. The trials of acceptance included trying to ask Amy (a black girl) about going to the community center disco and imitating the black boys' mode of self-expression--i.e., decorating the inside of their desks and playing with hidden toys. His efforts culminated in his being taken into the classroom closet and thrashed by four boys. (For a discussion of this episode, see the next section below, Efforts to encourage social integration.) Following the flack raised by this event, Scott was better tolerated by the black boys and become good friends with Dennis, who like Scott, was in a high reading group.

As was discussed earlier, Bunchie, the Native-American boy, was definitely ostracized in the classroom because of his tattling and antagonistic behavior. Ms. Baker tried to encourage contact with other students by placing him with Jake, Bobbie and Berry. Since Jake was a loner and Bobbie was generally non-responsive, physical proximity did not encourage cooperative interaction.

h. Efforts to encourage social integration

Ms. Baker reported that her plans for multicultural education were secondary to helping students accept each other and grow up:

> I really believe...like starting a home, if they can get along in their enclosed classroom, maybe they can to out into the neighborhood and meet other people in a positive way.

No multicultural activities occurred in Ms. Baker's class during the first three months of school. She indicated that two kinds of curriculum materials would be used:

> I do think that the social science books that we have, if I can somehow use that with the kids, would be a good introduction to, "Not everybody lives like you do" type of thing.

> The reading level is very hard. I'm going to have a difficult time with the book itself. The things that are in it--the concepts--are very good. The other thing I've picked up is a little card file--it has lots of different cultures [on] task cards. I'm going to put it up as a center, and then just put out a task card each day of things they can do for some extra credit.

Ms. Baker felt that, since she had so few white students, the only possible integrative activity for her class was playing soccer with the predominantly white Vanguard program class. She saw teamwork and cooperation practiced in a setting where academic skills were not at issue as a beneficial experience for both black and white children.

Within the classroom, the few white students tended to group together. (Bobbie was an exception since he was in his own world; Scott, the newcomer, was close to Molly but also tried to make friends among the boys.) As Ms. Baker explained, the existence of the white (bussed) students' clique may not have been exclusively due to race:

> They [are] not readily accepting of other children, so if I'm having racial isolation, it would appear right there, and I don't know if it's because of race, or if it's because of interest, academic or otherwise. I think [it's] academic above anything else, and the key to that one is that Amy is accepted into that group. Dennis is now in level eleven and is on the fringes of that group as well.[Amy and David were black but were in the high reading group.]

If academic grouping was the source of this isolation, Ms. Baker's system did not address the problem.

Ms. Baker did mention "accepting others" when responding to students who put down their peers. When, for example, Jimmy made fun of Scott's relationship with Molly, Ms. Baker said, "Jimmy, that's enough; everyone can be friends, and don't you make fun of that." In another instance, Jack was told to be

tolerant of Burt because of his "problems." These statements had the character of nonthreatening chastisements of students' behavior and moralizing messages. She also tried to down play the possible stigma which might be associated with a student's removal from the room for behavior problems. She did this by lecturing the class about the need for some students "to cool out" and to have time "to work things out." The point to be made here is that these concerns for mutual understanding and acceptance were not tied to discussions or activites in which the issues and problems in the classroom could be aired with the students. Similarly, when interpersonal crises occurred, the students were removed from the room. The teacher either counseled the students involved or sent them to Ms. Wilson. No mention of the nature of the problem or its resolution was presented to the class.

The closest thing to an overt conflict occurred on November 20th, when Scott was taken into a closet and beaten by four black boys (Rodney, Melvin, Jimmie, and Kevin). Ms. Baker reacted by calmly sending the aide to Ms. Wilson's to find out if she was available. She sent students to the library or to do math worksheets so as not to disrupt instruction. Next, she asked Scott to identify the protagonists. Ms. Wilson came to talk to Melvin, Rodney, Kevin, Jimmie and Scott outside the classroom. When probed, Scott related to the ethnographer that "Ms. Wilson had said that she was willing to call the kids' parents." Scott seemed to be more accepted by the boys after he stood up for himself. As for using the incident as an opportunity to build the class's cohesiveness, however, Ms. Baker made no mention of the cause of the confrontation or the manner in which the conflict had been resolved. The whole problem was treated by the teacher as an occasion requiring swift and assertive discipline, but not as a symptom of cross-ethnic problems.

It would have been interesting to ascertain the effect of Ms. Baker's reliance on Ms. Wilson to resolve classroom conflicts, since Ms. Wilson's authoritarian manner tended to be at variance with Ms. Baker's style. It appeared that Ms. Baker's socialization efforts, of necessity, continued to be directed at controlling behavior problems rather than attaining the loftier goals of cultural pluralism and mutual acceptance.

C. CASE STUDY OF MR. LEWIS' CLASSROOM

1. Setting

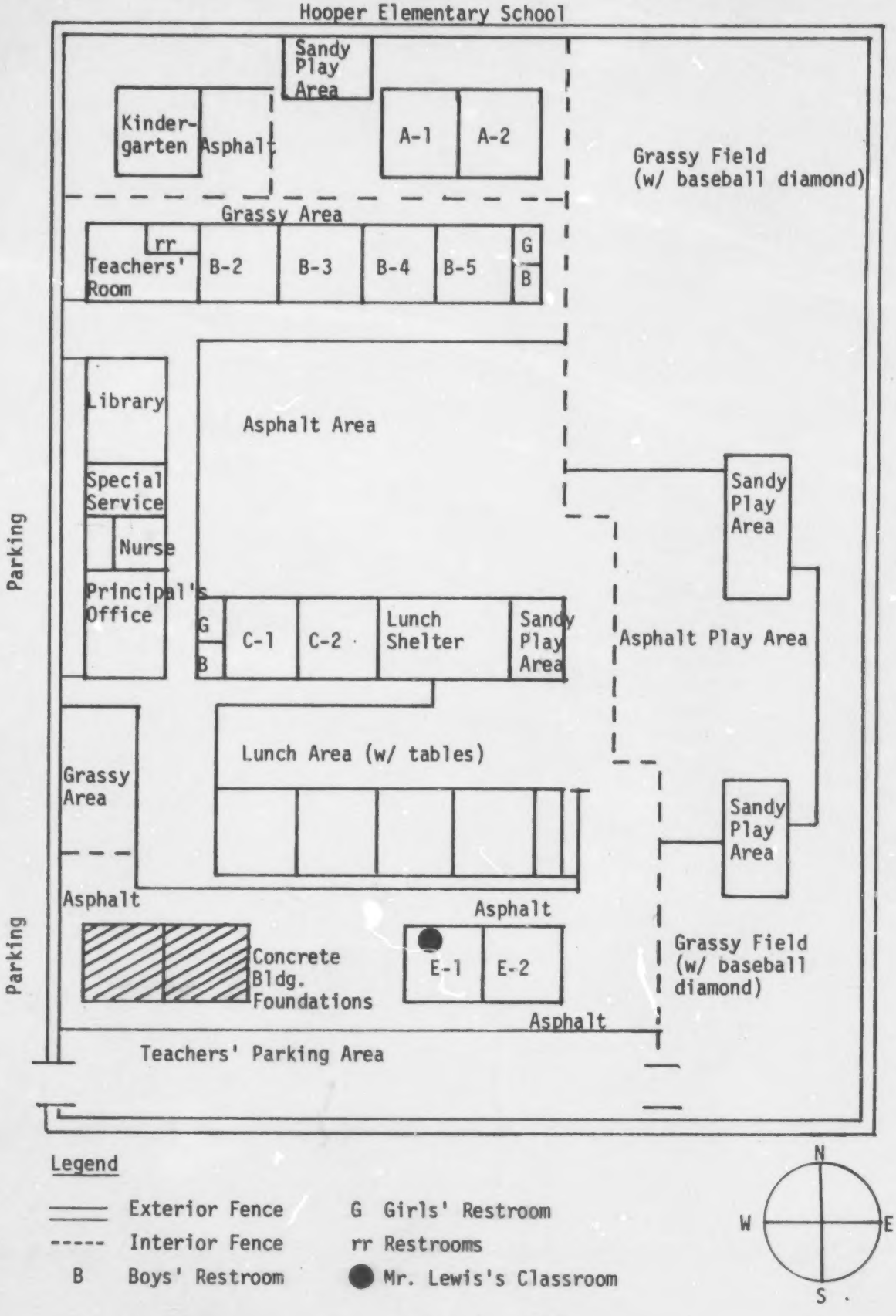
a. The school

Hooper Elementary is part of a cluster of elementary schools that includes La Cumbre School. It offers a basic skills program to upper grade minority students, described in the district's ESAA proposal as "a comprehensive program of basic skills in language arts and mathematics supported by a variety of mini-magnets." However, no special offerings were given at Hooper. In fact, the school was lacking a resource teacher. Minority students voluntarily transferred here for the opportunity to be in a white instead of an all black classroom. The program thus far had resulted in an increase in minorities from 9 percent of the 280 students the previous year to 20 to 21 percent in 1978.

Hooper is located in the north of the city, amid middle-class, ranch-style homes. The area is a mixture of well-established modest homes and newer, larger homes. Some nearby streets are tree-lined. The neighborhood is almost exclusively white. The school is divided into two parts (see Figure C1). On its east side is the playground, which is mostly grass. A center section of basketball and tetherball courts is blacktopped. On this section are poles for nets. Four-square games are painted on the asphalt, along with a parallel set of lines for a running track. There are trees set in asphalt in planters. On either side of this blacktop area is a sandbox with swings, junglejims, parallel bars, rings, and balancing balls. The grass field contains baseball diamonds and tetherball poles. Benches run along the center part of the fence, which divides the field from the rest of the school. Each of the 5 buildings is beige and has a different colored door. At the northern end of the school is the kindergarten section, which is fenced off from the rest of the school. It has its own grass playground and equipment, which consists of swings,

Figure C1

Hooper Elementary School



Legend

═══	Exterior Fence	G	Girls' Restroom
-----	Interior Fence	rr	Restrooms
B	Boys' Restroom	●	Mr. Lewis's Classroom

slides, junglejims, and bars in the sandbox. Adjacent to this are classrooms "A-1" and "A-2." These are divided from the "B" Wing by a grassy field. The "B" Wing consists of classrooms, girls' and boys' restrooms, and the teachers' lounge. At the west end of "B" Wing is a grassy section. At the east end of "B" Wing is a drinking fountain and the restrooms. The teachers' lounge is a spacious, high-ceilinged room with comfortable cushioned furniture, a coffee pot, reading material, bookcases, and its own restroom. Running perpendicular to "B" Wing are the administration offices. At the north end of this administration wing, running east-west, is the "C" Wing, which consists of the Custodian's room and two classrooms and a sheltered lunch area with sixteen tables. At the westernmost end of this wing is a dirt area surrounded by asphalt. North of this wing (between the "B" Wing and the "C" Wing) are rows of trees. South of it are more lunch tables. South of "C" Wing is "D" Wing, which contains three classrooms, restrooms, and the cafeteria. Students eat outdoors. At the east end of "D" Wing are girls' and boys' restrooms. West of "D" Wing is a grassy field with bushes and trees. The field is separated from the play area by a fence. South of "D" Wing is the "E" Wing, consisting of two classrooms. On the north side of this wing are two planters without plants. The rest of the wing is a concrete foundation pad--the remains of two classrooms that apparently had been torn down. The bikeracks are on this concrete pad. South of the "E" Wing and the concrete pad is a teachers' parking area, surrounded by a fence on its west, south, and east sides. The second parking area runs the length of the west side of the school, and is an asphalt-topped surface alternating with concrete walkways for the students.

There was no graffiti on the walls, and the school appeared to be very clean. There was little trash lying about. The school also seemed to be

fairly quiet, even when recess was in progress. There was very little noise outside of the school. The neighborhood surrounding the school was also relatively free of traffic or airplane noise. Trash cans were set around in convenient spots near eating areas, restrooms, playing fields, and classrooms. The grass playing field was well watered and was mowed frequently during the observation period. The entire school appeared to be well tended.

Two of the nine faculty members were black, as was the administrative assistant. The school secretary, principal, seven faculty members, cafeteria, and janitorial staff were white.

The principal, Ms. Hufton, was in her fifties. She had been assigned to Hooper School the previous April. She divided her administrative duties between Hooper and another school. Over the summer, she underwent major surgery and appeared to be still recovering.

She hoped parents would see the value in the desegregation effort, but participation in the exchange program was not as extensive as she would have liked.

The principal played havoc with Mr. Lewis' life, if the teacher's accounts are to be believed. According to him, Ms. Hufton was the kind of administrator who is unable to manifest her own authority. She thus became rigid in relations with staff and could not make decisions without contacting the central office. She was responsible for reporting a parent's complaint about Mr. Lewis' use of meditation to the district. This act resulted in the suspension of his program until grievance procedures vindicated his teaching methods.

This account is given credence by evidence that the principal's actions toward others reflected Mr. Lewis' depiction of his relationship with her. Three times Ms. Hufton refused to meet staff to discuss the negative results

of evaluations of her performance by the Hooper faculty and the faculty at the principal's other school. Furthermore, the administrative assistants at both schools had requested transfers. Teachers and aides reported seven incidents involving interactions with the principal to Mr. Lewis, who served as the school's grievance chairperson. The principal's indecision about whether or not to hold assemblies, and whether to refuse or accept certain monies from the district, infuriated the administrative assistant and the teachers.

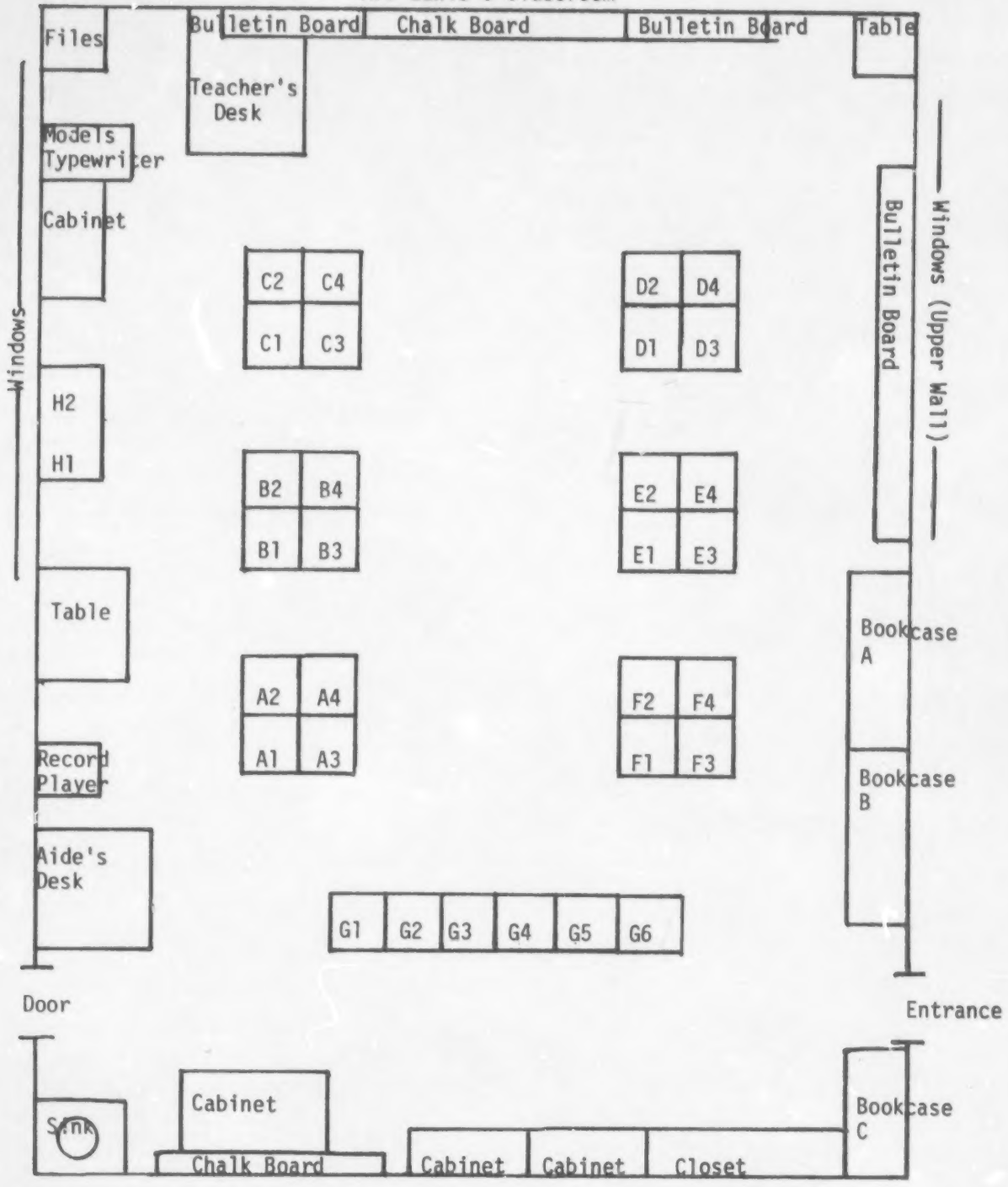
Irrespective of how substantive these problems were, the point is that Mr. Lewis had to struggle to reinstate his academic program, and, in general, felt frustrated by his inability to deal with the principal.

b. The classroom

The walls of Mr. Lewis' classroom, E-1, were speckled with green and white spray paint. The ceiling was white beaverboard with neon lights. The floor was carpeted in clean orange commerical pile. There were seven groups of tables set around the room (See Figure C2). A table in the southeast corner of the room was covered with craft projects and also held a calculator. A double bulletin board adjacent to the table exhibited handwriting projects and self-portraits by each of the students done in colors of kelly green and bright yellow. The self-portraits were replaced for Open House by math projects. Six small louvered windows were spaced across the uppermost part of the south wall adjacent to the ceiling. Adjacent to the bulletin board on this wall were two bookcases with neatly arranged books. In Bookcase "A," the easternmost bookcase, were reading books, biological workbooks and reading workbooks. Adjacent to Bookcase "A," was a bookcase labelled "B," containing various popular magazines and comics; and humor, science, and mechanics books, among others. Below these bookcases were cabinets. On top of these two bookcases were five boxes containing more workbooks. On bookcase "B," on its westernmost side, was an indoor houseplant placed near the door. Adjacent

Figure C2

Mr. Lewis's Classroom



to the south door on the west side were notices concerning class rules and the soccer rules. To the right of the door were cafeteria menus, the light switch, the fire extinguisher, and the trash can. Also, to the west side of the door, was a third bookcase. On this bookcase were the encyclopedias, math books, mineral books, and biological books. There was a plant on top of the bookcase next to the door side of the bookcase.

The west wall contained the closet for jackets. In the closet was a book shelf with games stacked on top of books, and a table. Under the table was a fan and a box of animals for dissecting purposes. On top of the closet were boxes of papers containing material written by the teacher for college classes or symposiums, as well as files containing information on the students. Adjacent to the closet on its north side was a cabinet housing games and biological equipment, such as microscopes. Adjacent to this was a smaller cabinet. On the tall cabinet was a sheet of paper on which were written educational goals, and a copy of Assembly Bill 3696. Also hanging on this cabinet were duty charts which listed jobs: "Turn Off the AV Equipment," "Erase the Board," "Put the Chairs on Top of Desks," "Straighten Reading Materials," "Clean the Sink," "Sweep the Floor." Another notice on the same door told of afterschool recreation for the week. The small cabinet contained games in and on top of it. There was an abstract design on the north side of the big cabinet with an applique strip hanging from it.

Adjacent and north of these two cabinets was chalkboard "B" with a cabinet below for storage. Above this cabinet was a rating chart for keeping track of students' biorythms. Students rated themselves on a scale of one to three for physical needs, sensitivity needs, and intellectual status. Adjacent to this chart was a map of the world. Below, on the floor, was a tumbling mat, with a crayon box to the side. Jars of clay were adjacent to the tumbling

mat. A ledge below the chalkboard contained paintbrushes and tools for making clay projects. In the northwest corner of the room was the sink area, with paper-towels and a watering can for plants. A plant was hanging over the sink on a macrame cord. There was a trashcan adjacent to the sink.

On the north wall, above the sink, was a large macrame owl hanging. There was a mirror next to the owl by the northern door. On top of the aide's desk, to the east side of this northern door, sat a plant in a clay planter from Mexico. Next to the aide's desk was a record player with a store of records below the machine. This northern wall consisted of five large, louvered windows occupying two-thirds of the wall. Below these windows were worktables. On top of one worktable stood a model of the heart's circulatory system. Adjacent and east of the worktables was a supply cabinet with a dictionary on top. Workpapers and art equipment were contained in the cabinet, and a basket of classroom assignment papers rested on top. On a desk adjacent and east of this cabinet were large biological models within their boxes, and a typewriter. In the northeastern corner was a file cabinet. A duty schedule by the window recorded who was to be the lunch monitor. Adjacent to this was posted a small piece of paper, on which was written "a thought for the day." On the west wall, again in the northeastern corner, was the teacher's desk. It was neat, with a picture of his wife and one of their children, a calendar, and a large, green ink blotter on top. There were few papers on the desk.

On the east wall, covering most of the wall, was a large chalkboard with a bulletin board on either end. On the northernmost bulletin board was a large poster entitled "Metric Madness." The south bulletin board had examples of students' handwriting posted on it. Above the chalkboard was the classroom clock and a movie screen. Coming from the screen were two ropes of yarn that angled to either corner of the room opposite the east wall. The flag was in

the southeast corner of the room, high up on the wall. Surrounding the clock was a list of sayings painted by hand on the wall. Students recited them every morning. They were: "I am worthwhile; I am responsible; every day in every way I can get better and better."

Each of the six worktables consisted of two small tables pushed together, and each unit seated four students. In the northwest and southwest corners of the room, arranged in a row, were tables that seated six students. Over Area "A" was another large indoor plant hanging from a macrame cord. The room was very clean and neat, and there was very little debris on the floor.

2. The Performers

a. The teacher

Mr. Lewis was white and 46 years old, held a masters degree in Education, and had been teaching for twenty years. He had been teaching in the district for fourteen years and had been at Hooper Elementary for three of those years. Nine of his years had been in the most impacted black schools in the district.

He had also taught adult education classes and seminars at various humanistic psychology conferences, specializing in self-awareness exercises and human relations training activities. He wrote a book describing how teachers could adapt these techniques for classroom use.

He had been something of a thorn in the side of the district for a number of years, writing a book about racism in the schools, and being obstreperously vocal about the attitude and practices of other staff. He felt that recently he had learned to get along better with others in his present school. This year, however, as in the past, he had been put to test in defending his controversial teaching methods. Told to desist his exercises by the administration, he followed grievance procedures and was vindicated by the school board. He was abetted in part by the parents and teachers who testified on his behalf as to the benefits of his methods in reducing psychophysiological problems such as hypertension, asthma, and hyperactivity.

b. The students

Mr. Lewis' class started out as a sixth grade with 25 students. Because of the elimination of one classroom in the school, it became a fifth-sixth combination class of thirty-one. Parents selected the teacher they preferred based on the program offered. Most of the students with emotional or behavioral problems were assigned to Mr. Lewis' classroom. Eight students were hyperactive and had been on Ritilin. One child was chronically asthmatic, and one child was undergoing

psychiatric treatment.

The ethnic composition of the class was the most diverse of the classrooms studied. Several students were products of interethnic marriages. The class consisted of the following:

17 white
1 white (predominant)/Native American
7 black
1 black (predominant)/Mexican American/Native American
2 Mexican American/white
1 Mexican American (predominant)/Native American/white
2 Asian/white

The students' fall CTBS scores ranged from second to ninth grade level equivalents (see charts below). Overall, minority students did not score lower academically than whites. The class appeared to be fairly balanced with both bright and academically deficient majority and minority students.

Fall CTBS Reading Scores	1 Year Below Grade Level			Within 1 Year of Grade Level			1 Year Above Grade Level		
	5th	6th	T	5th	6th	T	5th	6th	T
white	4	4	8	-	4	4	5	-	5
black	1	4	5	2	-	2	-	-	-
white/Mexican American	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
white/Native American	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	1
Asiatic/white	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	1
Total*	5	9	14	4	4	8	6	2	8

Fall CTBS Math Scores	1 Year Below Grade Level			Within 1 Year of Grade Level			1 Year Above Grade Level		
	5th	6th	T	5th	6th	T	5th	6th	T
white	3	5	8	6	2	8	-	1	1
black	1	3	4	2	-	2	-	1	1
white/Mexican American**	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
white/Native American	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	1
Asian/white	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	1
Total*	4	8	12	11	2	13	0	4	4

* One student was a late arrival and was not tested.
** One score was thrown out because of cheating.

c. Other adults in the classroom

The Aide. Ms. Aguilar, a Mexican American,was married and had a son in the classroom. She was overweight but pleasant-looking and, according to Mr. Lewis, had a volatile personality:

> She has a tremendous amount of trouble keeping her temper when she feels that someone has hurt her or her children. She's been on the carpet several times for yard duty and as an aide for swearing at children. We've been trying to work this out with an attorney; and she has cleaned up her act considerably.

The teacher appreciated her enthusiasm and relied on her for a wide variety of work in the classroom, from instruction to decorating the classroom bulletin boards.

For her part, she readily claimed to be racist and did not like to touch others or be touched--two characteristics that must have caused strain for her in the kind of climate the teacher created. She firmly believed that the teacher's methods were good for the problem students. She told the teacher that he was the only teacher who didn't treat an aide as a second-class citizen.

During the course of the observation period, Ms. Aguilar decided to quit because of the tense situation in the school and in the classroom. This occurred at the time Mr. Lewis was about to present to the school board his struggle to get his program reinstated. After she and Mr. Lewis talked and worked out their problems, she returned to work two days after her unexpected resignation.

3. Teacher Beliefs and Expectations

a. Teaching role expectations

Mr. Lewis emphasized the goals of humanistic psychology in his approach to teaching. He had tried to develop each pupil's sense of individuality and to foster respect within the classroom for each person's rights and responsibilities. Academically, these beliefs translated into an individualized instructional program. Beyond this, the teacher had developed a program of human relations and body-work activities that included massage, "dream work," meditation, and classroom discussions.

In his approach to teaching, Mr. Lewis derived an eclectic array of techniques from his experience with dianetics; his reading in biological and altered states research, and educational theory; and his work as a student and lecturer at the Creative Problem Solving Institute. He frequently experimented with, and made substantial changes in, his teaching approaches. Mr. Lewis noted, for example, that eight years previously he had abandoned a totally individualized program that had proved to be excessively difficult to manage. This year he had changed his longstanding opinion about the worthlessness of homework and had decided to start assigning it during the fifth week of school.

Mr. Lewis reported that his year had started off as the smoothest in his twenty years of teaching, and that his curriculum materials were all set before school began. Because of complaints from the principal, however, the district had halted his controversial teaching methods. He had been required to remove all practices other than basic skills and traditional enrichment areas from his curriculum. The beginning of the truncated instructional offerings coincided with the beginning of classroom observations. Through a grievance procedure before the school board, the program was reinstated two weeks later.

The specifics of Mr. Lewis' program will be explored in later discussions of instructional practice and socialization of students.

b. Perceptions of the students

Because of the teacher's reputation in working with problem students, his class included several students who had physical and emotional problems. The teacher took a positive attitude toward working with them:

> This is probably one of the easiest classes I've had to manage. And part of it, again, is my own feeling about myself. Because they're supposed to be a bunch of incorrigible kids--a number of them are supposed to be incorrigible; hyperactive.
>
> Out of the kids I have six or seven had either been on Ritilin last year or this year. When I take a kid the first thing I do is to take them off Ritilin or medication and let him be his normal pre-morbid self and let me work with that. One of the kids is asthmatic and within just three weeks of the program his doctor said he could start cutting down his dosage and his visits. So it's obvious that something has happened: and that is one of my expectations--that children improve.
>
> But they're not the brightest class as far as what I've seen of their potential. They're going to be more of a challenge for me to work with. I'll have to work harder to get them to meet certain academic expectations. With other classes I could sit on my behind in a corner of the room and just get them rolling and they'd literally teach themselves. But this group, I'm really going to have to teach them.

Mr. Lewis did not base his expectations of the students' academic performance upon the cumulative records available to him. He preferred to observe them to draw his own conclusions.

c. Attitudes toward desegregation

The experience of teaching in a predominantly black school had made a dramatic impact on Mr. Lewis' attitudes.

> Teaching in a black school made me mad at white children. And I was probably a little bit overly protective of the black children. It got to the point where my concept of what was physically beautiful was changing the black child into someone

so much more attractive than even my own children--which upset me. So when I got to that point I said it was time for me to move and try to help in my own way in getting white children to understand, appreciate,and get along with the black children and that's why I asked for a transfer.

Mr. Lewis wrote a book which attacked the victimization of minority students in the school district. He used to relentlessly point out other teachers' prejudiced attitudes and behaviors but had tempered his ways in order to prevent the staff's becoming alienated from him. He said he realized that attacking others was ineffective and that the present staff respected him and listened to some of his suggestions.

His attitude toward the desegregation effort in the district was that it was impossible for Americans not to be prejudiced. Bussing, he felt, had resulted in a greater display of hatred, because the students reflected their parents' hatred.

I think it begins to bring some of the conflicts to a head. Unfortunately, with the exception of the way I'm trying to do it, most of the time when a situation comes to a head, a black child who has been taught to hate the white child and vice versa--the situation isn't handled. People pretend that it doesn't exist in the manner that it really is; and they take it as a personal thing sometimes between two children when it really is a racial thing and no one wants to talk about it. "Let's ignore it and handle it as a discipline problem." But it's really a sociological problem.

...I think the difference is that I know some of the children hate each other. You can see that some of the conflicts are strictly racial. But the children aren't aware of it. But they respond to petty things, even more inappropriately than normal. I mean kids get petty just like their parents. Whereas last year we only had three or four black kids and they were good black kids like the white Jew. They fit perfectly. So everybody kind of accepted them. Now there're too many black kids and they can't be invisible.

4. Instructional Practices

a. Instructional format

Mr. Lewis combined lecture-recitation with an individualized program of seatwork as the basic format for the skill subjects. Reading received the most emphasis and was taught by a variety of methods. A workbook series and reading skill cards were employed for individualized independent seatwork. Textbooks and library reading provided supplemental print materials. Mr. Lewis believed that some students needed to have material presented to them orally in order to overcome reading disabilities. For this purpose he had "listening lessons" during which the teacher read aloud and then asked information and discussion questions about the content. In addition, he wanted to use a TV to discuss characters and plot development, especially for the students who were low achievers in reading. The television, however had broken and was not repaired during the observation period. Testing was accomplished by having the student read and answer discussion questions from the workbook at the teacher's desk. The student would then be assigned a new workbook and would return to independent seatwork.

Mathematics was taught in "mini-lessons" that introduced math concepts to the entire class. The plan of the lessons was to cycle through the concepts and then repeat the series. Mr. Lewis felt that it was beneficial to expose all the students to the concepts, even if they didn't grasp them:

> Especially with black children, I think what happens is that teachers don't let them go on until they've learned one skill, and a kid can spend five years on addition, while that kid might have been able to add simple fractions. When he takes the CTBS test he acts like a complete dolt [yet] he could have been introduced to those [concepts].

Mr. Lewis had changed his approach somewhat, reflecting the CTBS test pressures. The other sixth-grade teachers produced higher computation scores through intense drilling, which prompted Mr. Lewis to increase the number of practice problems he

assigned in order to provide effective repetition. The lessons consisted of the teacher's lecturing, followed by students working example problems and reciting the problem steps. Students worked independently in workbooks after the lesson on skills that may or may not have been related to their seatwork. Peer tutoring was also employed. Students who finished early helped others. There was no formal testing.

Language instruction consisted of dream journals and group discussion. Dream journals were daily diaries kept by each student in which he/she reported and interpreted dreams from the previous evening. Grammar was corrected later.

In spelling instruction the teacher pronounced a word, defined it,and asked all the class to write the word phonetically. Then students corrected their spelling after Mr. Lewis wrote the word on the board. Students were then broken up into ability groups (3rd, 4th, 5th grade levels) in which a member of each group would take the teacher role in order to practice spelling words from workbooks. Groups were not permanent,and students could change if dissatisfied.

In both language and spelling, the teacher avoided textbooks because, as he bluntly stated:

> I don't think there's anybody who understands what it's about, and I see no sense in me trying to teach children what adults cannot understand.

He felt that his vocabulary building method of drawing several words from the New York Times's "Auditory Discrimination Kit" provided important auditory skills:

> I give them new sounds to play around with at the beginning of the year just to get them tuned into hearing sounds of the language. This is especially critical for the minority children because they do not hear what we say.

Science instruction was a year-long program on the human body and biology, utilizing plastic kits and models of parts of the body, microscopes, and dissection of animals. This was the only classroom in the study that stressed extensive science activities. In a recitation format, the teacher chose students

to read one paragraph each of the mimeographed materials.

Social studies, as conceived by Mr. Lewis, was covered by the human relations activities and the physical anthropology taught as part of the science course.

Art was a free-time activity and consisted of painting, drawing and sometimes working with clay. In addition to the chorus and musical instrument lessons offered through the school, students sang or played percussion instruments to records.

The human relations program consisted of a number of activities, some of which were daily routines, some of which were special activities. As has been suggested, this program encompassed most of the language instruction, part of the science program and all of the social studies work.

"Dream work" consisted of having each student write down or discuss with another student his/her dreams. For massage, students paired off and followed procedures demonstrated by the teacher. The "hot seat" was a kind of encounter session. "Flying" was an exercise in which one student at a time would dive into the rest of the class who were seated on the floor prepared to catch the flyer. Chanting and guided fantasy meditation and "trust-building exercises" were also introduced at times.

Physical education was an integral part of the teacher's program. It was scheduled daily to develop knowledge of rules, physical skills, self-confidence and cooperation. Major sports were taught to boys and girls alike by the teacher, aide, and a physical education aide. Mr. Lewis would also take the class outside for unscheduled P.E. when he or the students were frustrated or losing control.

b. Scheduling of subject matter

The daily agenda for activities was posted on the chalkboard each morning and was followed closely, except for adjustments that were made for extra physical education. During the time that Mr. Lewis' controversial activities

were suspended, a typical day went as follows:

Opening Exercise	8:50
Listening Lesson	9:00
Reading Seatwork	9:20
Recess	10:15
Human Relations	10:30
Physical Education	10:50
Math	11:20
Lunch/Recess	11:50
Music	12:50
Spelling	1:00
Human Body	1:20
Recess	1:50
Art/Games or Catchup Work Period	2:05
Cleanup	2:45
Dismissal	2:50

The opening exercises consisted of reciting the Pledge of Allegiance, singing "My Country 'Tis of Thee," and reciting the class self-improvement pledge: "I am worthwhile; I am responsible: every day in every way I can get better and better." Students then closed their eyes and tried to reinforce these ideas. Following the reinstatement of his meditation and "dream work," the schedule changed to accommodate these activities again. A typical day from the sixth week (weeks 4-5 had short days because of parent conferences) might have followed the schedule below:

Opening Exercises	8:50
Pair Blending	9:00
Dream Journal	9:10
Reading Seatwork	9:30
Running Laps	10:12
Recess	10:15
Massage	10:30
Physical Education	11:00

Work Period (math)	11:20
Lunch/Recess	11:50
Math	12:50
Reading Lesson/Human Body	1:00
Spelling	1:25
Recess	1:50
Catchup Work/or Art/Games	2:05

5. Classroom Socialization

a. Classroom rules

Students were allowed a great amount of freedom in Mr. Lewis' classroom, but there was strict enforcement of responsibilities, both academic and social. Students were allowed to talk except when Mr. Lewis talked to the entire class. Excessive noisiness was sanctioned, however. Students could get up from their seats at any time to get a drink, to go to the restrooms, or to approach the teacher or aide. They were allowed to chew gum except on the playground. Procedures for conducting human relations activities (and engaging in them without giggles or disruption) were strictly enforced. The teacher quickly redirected pupils who were off task during independent work. Routines, according to the teacher, had taken precedence over diagnostic testing at the beginning of the year. His socialization measures did not emphasize learning procedures, but rather established the teacher's authority and created a climate of high expectations for students' performance as members of the classroom community. He claimed that his classroom system was operating such that all students knew what was expected of them by the third day. During the second week of school he experienced a setback when one classroom was disbanded because of lack of students. His class became a 5th-6th combination, losing three students and picking up eight. These new students included several bussed minority children. The observer reported that when observations began in the 5th week of class, the classroom appeared well organized and the students had adjusted to the change. This is not to say that problems were not apparent. But in a classroom with hyperactive students and students whose track records were full of behavior problems, disciplinary problems did not interfere with the flow of instruction or independent work. Mr. Lewis' other classroom rules were founded on his emphasis on involvement with and respect for others. Physically hurting others and hurting others' feelings were

considered the most serious offenses in the classroom social system and were punishable by paddling.

b. Rewards and punishments

Mr. Lewis presented an exceptionally strong persona as a way of establishing authority. He felt this was prerequisite for maintaining control.

> The main thing, and one of the reasons a lot of kids like to be in my room, is that [right off] they know that I will protect them. And the only way I can protect them is that if someone hurts them, then I will hurt that person. I tell them it's a terrible and barbaric method; but it's effective.

He felt that the threat of corporal punishment underpinned his authority:

> I use a paddle and I hit them on the butt; with great force--but just once. My experience has been that by doing this rather than being angry at the child I do considerably less damage than the teacher who hates the child. I discharge my emotions and I tell them I'm doing it. By swatting like that the child knows fear, and fear is one of the elements in our culture that does control people. I don't think it's civilized but it works.

It was equally important to this teacher to foster a sense of trust and protection, which would balance the use of fear.

> I tell the kids that the reason I use paddling is that they will be afraid of me and that they will obey me when I tell them. And this is the way that I keep order. But that is just so that I have their attention, so to speak. From there I spend a lot of time touching them.

In fact, the teacher was very encouraging in his dealings with students, praising them, smiling, caressing their shoulders, shaking hands, and touching their forearms as friendly gestures.

> 11/17
>
> At 10:05 Edwin comes to the teacher's desk and shows Mr. Lewis his reading assignment. Mr. Lewis peruses it and looks up smiling. He gives a gentle poke to Edwin's ribs with his fingers, smiles and says in a proud encouraging voice, "You are doing a very fine job my friend." Edwin smiles broadly and goes back to his desk.

In working to establish trust Mr. Lewis consistently made the reasons for his decisions explicit. He conveyed the sense that his decisions

to sanction students or to honor a request by students were not arbitrary but reflected a rational and predictable process. When he was irritable or upset, he warned the students in advance. He also took students' moods into account when assessing their behavior. Each morning students filled out a biorhythm chart that gave the teacher "feedback" on whether they were happy or upset, and sick or well.

This combination of empathy and strictness was reflected in the system of rewards and punishments he employed.

In terms of rewards, Mr. Lewis allowed students free time to play games if work was completed. At the end of each day a period was set aside for catchup work, or for art, if students had completed the day's work. Students at each table were responsible for their behavior. The best-behaved table was chosen at the end of the day to sell the candy to the rest of the class.(Selling candy was a fundraising business to finance a trip to an amusement park at the end of the year).

Mr. Lewis adamantly disagreed with the practice of paying students for doing their work. He described the following as a typical exchange when students asked him what he would give them when he praised their work:

> I'll say, " I gave it to you." And they'll say, "Well what do you mean you gave it to me?" I'll say, "I taught you how to do it. You helped yourself but I taught you how to do it. That's what you get from me. I'm not going to pay you for it. You should get satisfaction yourself. If you don't get it then it's too bad. It's your problem." But I do pay them in smiling and encouraging them.

While no instances like this hypothetical conversation were reported during the observations, Mr. Lewis admonished students on many ocassions to be responsible, not only to behave, but also to seek help and to try. He was generous with praise for those who did so.

> I try to get them to the point where they really get off their butts and seek help because they know I'm

not going to insult them. I will insult them if they don't seek help. I will rail at them about that because I want them to be self-initiating and self-motivating.

While this emphasis on the value of self-motivation will be discussed in the section on moral socialization (p.112), it is included here as a unifying theme in the unusual interplay between Mr. Lewis' forceful no-nonsense discipline and his humanism.

Mr. Lewis expected maturity of his students but also tried to encourage them to be children. He trained them to accept criticism from the class in a "hot seat" situation, for example, but he encouraged them to play with leggos and dolls.

These seeming contradictions help to place Mr. Lewis's classroom management techniques in focus. A "therapeutic community" would be an apt metaphor for his classroom management system. Praise, free time, and personal growth were the rewards in this system.

The negative sanctions and punishments, on the other hand, were both autocratic and confrontational. Although students were frequently admonished for socializing and talking during instruction, the teacher's personal authority made these sanctions highly effective in making these students desist. In many instances, including the example below, the teacher was sarcastic or belittled the students to get to work:

10/20

The teacher looks from his desk and says "Jason, Chuck, come here!" The boys come over looking very insecure. Mr. Lewis asks them quietly but sternly, "Have you finished your work?" The boys reply, "No." Mr. Lewis in an annoyed voice tells them firmly, "You don't do any work when you come here. You are both lazy and you better start proving you are not." Mr. Lewis gestures strongly with his hands to emphasize his words. The boys shuffle their feet and Chuck looks red in the face. Mr. Lewis asks them what the problem is, shakes his head and asks them if they know why they're not supposed to play until they finish their work.

The boys look sheepish and continue to shuffle their feet.

[After an interruption] The boys stand by their desks looking at the teacher with serious expressions. Chuck says to Jason, "We'd better get our work done." Jason nods. The boys begin to do their workbooks.

Students who were not cooperating were isolated from their cohorts (on occasion). Touching was often used as a control move. If a student created persistent problems, Mr. Lewis might put him/her in the "hot seat," during which time the class would offer criticism about his/her behavior. This occurred once near the end of the observations after all the students had been trained earlier to "express dissatisfaction" with each other in practice sessions. During these sessions pairs of students would hold hands. One would express something he/she didn't like about the other, who then had to repeat what the first had said. Some students found it very difficult to accept criticism, but this difficulty seemed to be gradually overcome.

It should be noted that the teacher sent out five-part parental permission forms to determine if the child could be paddled, boxed, or taught sex education; and if he/she could play unsupervised on the playground, and dissect animals. At the beginning of the year Mr. Lewis boxed with one student who was hostile and defiant. He defended himself and let the student punch away. This practice, however, was discontinued by action from the district. Since he had the right to suspend students, he reserved this punishment for those few students whose parents would not allow corporal punishment. During the observation period, Julia was suspended for three days.

If a conflict arose between students, Mr. Lewis would threaten swatting or offer them (or insist upon) a paper fight or encounter bat fight. The paper fight was a refereed fight with rolled up newspapers. The encounter bats or "batakas," were foam-covered implements commonly used by humanistic psychologists

as tools for releasing aggression. Some students tended to feel embarrassed when forced to fight, but the aggression was almost always diffused. In one instance, Chuck had been teasing Tilly, and finally she retaliated by punching him. The teacher arranged a fight:

10/20

All the students have gone to lunch except Tilly and Chuck. At 11:51 the teacher goes over to the closet and reaches up above and pulls down four, three-foot long rolls of newspaper and tells Chuck that he has been baiting Tilly all day long and that they can have it out in the classroom. He hands two rolls to each child and they face each other in the center of the classroom. The teacher tells them that they can fight until they're tired or one asks to quit or the newspaper is in shreads. They can only hit with the newspaper and they cannot use anything else. Chuck looks at Tilly who continues to look menancing and very angry and Chuck says, smiling and baiting, "Anything goes." Teacher says with a slight trace of annoyance and impatience in his voice to Chuck, " You've been teasing the daylights out of her, yes anything goes." Chuck frowns slightly, that is he stops smiling and his eyes look a little bit nervous and he says, "Not even in the face she can't hit the face." Mr. Lewis firmly replies "Anything goes." He holds the students apart then steps back and says, "okay go!" Tilly and Chuck begin hitting each other with the rolls of paper, each holds the two rolls together in one hand, and hit each other. Tilly is taller but she seems to be losing the paper fight and she hits at Chuck and Chuck hits back. As they start to go outside the circle of desks towards the edges of the room the teacher tells them to stop. He herds them back in and asks each one if they're all right. He directs his concern towards Tilly and asks her again if she's all right and she smiles and nods. He says, "Okay go---" and the students continue hitting. This keeps up for five minutes. Both students are tired. Mr. Lewis asks if they want to stop because Tilly seems to be tiring. The newspapers are getting shreaded but are still intact. At this Chuck starts grinning because his newspapers are still intact and he seems to have more energy. Tilly says she wants to go on. The teacher lets them continue fighting with the newspapers. Tilly becomes more aggressive and Chuck stops smiling as he starts losing the battle. Tilly's paper finally rips apart and the teacher stops them. He asks each one if they are okay. He asks Tilly several times "Are you okay?" Chuck starts smiling insolently and teasingly. He is reprimanded by the teacher saying that if he continues to tease Tilly, the next time the teacher won't be around to stop her from hitting him and he may really get hurt.

c. Moral socialization

As a teacher who embraced the role of psychologist-counselor, Mr. Lewis intensely emphasized the need for training in the values of personal and interpersonal emotional health. Therapeutic motives tinctured his curriculum materials, grouping practices, classroom management practices, and reward system. While it is impossible to include here all of the teacher's messages to the students, the following list summarizes the values he recommended explicitly:

-- Students should be able to recognize and express their feelings.

-- Students should respect the individuality and feelings of others.

-- Students should learn to develop strong self-images.

-- Human beings make mistakes; emotional mistakes require apologies, academic ones do not.

-- Students should use the teacher as an authority to protect them from others but develop the communication skills to handle their own problems.

Mr. Lewis's application of these tenets was complex. Students were encouraged, for example, to talk about their prejudices and what they liked and disliked about one another during structured activities such as pair blending, "dream communities," the hot seat, and guided fantasies. On the other hand, the teacher sanctioned students when they teased or otherwise hurt another's feelings. Mr. Lewis modeled his policies by explaining his reasons for his actions, especially those involving interpersonal confrontations. A revealing incident occurred when Jeff was experiencing difficulty reading aloud. Mr. Lewis forced him to continue even though Jeff burst into tears. Despite this, Mr. Lewis stood over him and pushed him, word by word, until Jeff completed the paragraph and left the room. The teacher explained what happened when Jeff returned:

> I asked [the class] why they thought I made him do it, and Shelley came up with the fact that he didn't like to face them and felt uncomfortable and that I was trying to help him.
>
> I wanted to make it very clear to them the difference between what I was doing and what I know that teachers sometimes do--use the situation to humiliate the child. I told them it was not a put down; it was a put up. It took a lot of courage not to run out of the room.... Other kids can be very cruel [and] the beauty of [this] method of saying, "you can't put anybody down because [you will have to] face me,"helps to bring out their real natural sensitivity.

It is clear from the above example that Mr. Lewis felt free to use confrontation tactics in an academic context. While the therapeutic efficacy of these practices was open to question, it is significant that the teacher presented the rationale for his actions to the class, and that the students seemed to understand the teacher's intentions.

In setting himself up as the arbiter of students' disputes, Mr. Lewis might intervene on behalf of students; for example, to determine if Eve's friends had been "bad-mouthing" her. At other times he would admonish students to take care of their own problems after determining that the problems were of their own making.

Just as he expected to be able to express anger and affection in the classroom, he expected students to "be themselves." Students were encouraged to play with dolls and Leggos in order to be "kids," but they were also guided into many situations requiring emotional maturity and personal responsibility for attaining free time. Mr. Lewis transmitted strong messages about control, power, overcoming fear, and inner reserves of strength, stemming perhaps from his background in dianetics.

Mr. Lewis's concern for instilling a need in students for taking control of their lives was reflected in his use of free time as a reward:

> It fits in with the total idea of what I had for developing a child's ability to control as much as possible of his own life. None of us control our lives completely, but we do have more control many times than we think we do. This is a way of showing him that he can control his time and he can control his own reward system.

In summary, Mr. Lewis placed great emphasis on the moral order in the classroom. He designed his instructional system and made use of day-to-day occurrences to underscore the importance of his own authority, as well as the students' interactional responsibilities and individual freedom.

d. Roles of other personnel in the classroom

The aide, Ms. Aguilar, was the only person on the school staff who had an impact upon the socialization of the students in Mr. Lewis' classroom. In addition to correcting the reading cards, dream journals, and math assignments at her desk, she walked around the room doing one-on-one instruction during work periods. She created the art projects for students and acted as a referee in P.E. games.

As has been mentioned, Ms. Aguilar was extremely prejudiced against blacks. Mr. Lewis felt that he had been able to make her aware of this attitude and that, although she found it hard to change, it did not hamper her classroom interactions. Since she disliked all physical contact with the students, it can be said that she did not act differentially in her aversive reactions. While her presence in the room contrasted dramatically with the teacher's, Ms. Aguilar neither carried out disciplinary actions nor demonstrated her attitudes in front of the children.

e. Student leaders

TILLIE was a tall black sixth grader who was a very powerful persona in the school. She had come to Hooper School the previous year. On the positive side she organized a playground dance-drill team of twenty students. On the other hand, she had been involved in many fights and had punched two aides.

Mr. Lewis felt that she was a strong leader in a positive sense, despite her intimidation of students and teacher alike. Through the eleventh week of school she had not been in a fight but did tease other students and would sometimes be defiant. The teacher would not tolerate her actions, and confrontations often occurred:

11/1

As Mr. Lewis explains that some students were picking on other students during free time, Tillie begins joking that she thought it was fun to do. The teacher tells her that he doesn't want her to continue picking on other students. She defies him, looking away from him, refusing to say that she won't pick on students. She refuses to back down, and the teacher turns her defiance against her by wording his questions--his sanctioning questions--in a manner in which she actually loses out. He tells her that her defiance tells him that she does not appreciate her free time, and that she, by continuing to act as if she does not care about the fact that she is going to lose her free time as a disciplinary action, her non-cooperation tells him that she is willing to lose it. The teacher keeps wording it in a manner that if Tillie continues to defy him, she'll "win," and lose her free time as her "prize"; i.e., if she refuses to talk to the teacher, he'll let her win the prize of losing her free time. Tillie's expression during this time changes from a smiling defiance to a concerned expression. She fails to respond and sulks at her desk, finding her situation twisted around in a manner she had not expected. The rest of the class appears subdued as they watch the teacher manipulate the situation against her. He then explains to the other students that if they want to be like Tillie, who has lost her free time through her own defiance, they can go ahead and continue bothering students, but otherwise, if they want to continue with their free time they will have to respect the rights of the other students, and not bother the students who are trying to work.

As was mentioned earlier, Tillie boxed the teacher early in the year and was the first student ever to connect a blow. Despite these confrontations, Mr. Lewis, who clearly had a fascination with power, hoped that her social charisma could be used more constructively. At the beginning of the year he talked to her privately about how impressed he was with her and how he wanted her to use her leadership to help him, herself, and other students.

WILSON was a Thai sixth grader who was conscientious and well-liked. Mr. Lewis appointed him the money manager for the classroom candy-selling business. Since he was the best math student in the class, the "books" always turned out right. He was very helpful in tutoring other students and never presented any behavior problems.

When the class realignment occurred and three sixth graders were to be transferred to the other sixth-grade room, Mr. Lewis considered sending Wilson

to help out the other teacher but was glad to have kept him, as he became the most positive leader.

WARREN was white, hyperkinetic, and short for a fifth grader. He tested in the gifted range of the Raven's Metrics but had been on Ritilin for four years before Mr. Lewis took him off the drug. He was easily distracted and would wander and play rather than work. His achievement was below grade level. He was feisty and possessed an acid sense of humor. He was a leader in the sense that he influenced the other students, but in an agitating fashion. Warren, because of his explosive energy, inspired students near him to erupt into fooling around. He would vacillate between being very happy and very upset with the other students. Near the end of the study, Mr. Lewis was threatening to paddle him daily, but he was only partially successful in settling him down. Despite his intelligence, Warren continued to perform below grade level. Mr. Lewis was not successful in using Warren's leadership potential in a positive fashion, although Warren remained something of a catalyst for the attentiveness or inattentiveness of the other students at his table.

Based on his belief that students should be provided with structural opportunities to develop their leadership, Mr. Lewis took advantage of each such opportunity. He rotated the role of team captain in sports, group leader for classroom activities, and other classroom roles as the opportunities occurred. Sometimes his human relations discussions focussed on the issue of leadership and what the qualities of a good leader are.

JULIA was a sixth grader whose father was black and part Native American, and whose mother was half Mexican and half black. She transferred into the classroom during the fourth week of school. She had emotional problems, was hyperactive, and exerted a strong negative influence on the classroom.

Her mother was under psychiatric treatment for being violent and for child abuse. Julia was extremely defensive to the point of being hostile

and aggressive toward students she believed were "talking about her." She fantasized that she would call her grandmother, who would come over and defend her against her mother. Mr. Lewis didn't realize that this was a fantasy until he discovered that her grandmother lived 2,000 miles away. Her fantasy ability had its advantages. She was the most vividly imaginative student in the fantasy and "dream work" sessions. Another way Mr. Lewis attempted to reach her was by assigning her to tutor in math, which she did most proficiently and diligently.

Mr. Lewis first tried to gain her trust by attempting to provide the affection she was missing at home. However, during the last week of observation she was suspended for throwing a chair in the classroom. Mr. Lewis reported that Julia's behavior was more subdued after she returned from the suspension.

f. Students with adjustment problems

Several of the students presented consistent problems for the teacher. In a classroom of supposed incorrigible and hyperactive children, it would be expected that some would stand out as having severe achievement and socioemotional difficulties. Tillie, Warren, and Julia presented the biggest daily challenges to the teacher's socialization efforts. They received the bulk of verbal admonishments for misbehavior. They were, nonetheless, making strides academically, so Mr. Lewis did not count them among the students whom he had failed to reach.

KENT was white, and was repeating the sixth grade. He had been in Mr. Lewis' classroom the previous year. He was both hyperactive and dyslexic. He had been in special education classes and had taken Ritilin for several years. His reading level improved from primer to third grade level the previous year, but Mr. Lewis did not think he was prepared for junior high. While he had not been a behavior problem the previous year, Kent became progressively hostile during the observations. He would not sit still, and for that reason had great difficulty participating in the meditation and fantasy exercises. The teacher recognized

how he might have contributed to Kent's problem by increasing his expectations to the point that Kent began to act up because of the pressure.

Mr. Lewis felt frustrated because Kent's "protective mechanisms" (as Mr. Lewis called them) were strong and thus a challenge to his therapeutic goals. He cheated at games and denied it. When put in the "hot seat" during the last week of observation, he repeatedly denied the accusations of his classmates.

Three other students are mentioned in this context because the teacher's response to them was based upon his understanding of their emotional problems.

EVE, a somewhat unattractive black fifth grader, was academically competent. She had been dubbed "Miss Paranoid" by the teacher. She, to a greater extent than Julia, was convinced that others were talking about her. Her paranoia was reinforced when Mr. Lewis confronted Eve's accusations that her friends Beth and Lily had been talking about her, and unfortunately, they had been talking about her. She was sometimes called "four eyes" and "buck tooth" by other pupils. Mr. Lewis empathized with her after learning the extent to which her father slighted her in favor of her sister.

CHUCK, a white sixth grader, was a social outcast who was constantly visiting other students and starting arguments. The teacher's concern was based on meeting Chuck's father, who beat him. With the emphasis in the classroom on being sensitive to others' feelings, students became more accepting of Chuck, and his negative comments became more humorous than vicious. He had been hyperactive, but was later able to sit still. His academic skills were still far below grade level, however. Despite his progress later in the period of observation and Mr. Lewis' sympathy regarding Chuck's home situation, his choice of Warren as a comrade continued the frequent sanctions for misbehavior.

LILY was a tall, black sixth grader whose family came from Mississippi. She spoke with a heavy dialect and dropped ending consonants so that other students had difficulty understanding her, especially when she was supposed to take her turn leading her spelling group. She seemed depressed because of the recent death of her father and became hostile toward the other girls,who joked insensitively about his death. While

she wanted to be accepted by the girls at her table, they rebuffed her--partly because of her hostility. Mr. Lewis confronted her to try to bring out her feelings about her father, which resulted in her crying but not talking. Throughout the observation period her antisocial behavior increased.

In each of these three cases, Mr. Lewis dealt directly with students' emotional problems. At this point during the year, only Chuck had begun to noticeably improve. However, it was likely that Mr. Lewis would continue his therapeutic efforts.

g. Friendship patterns

Students' social acceptance of each other evolved more dramatically in Mr. Lewis' classroom than in the other classrooms studied. Initially, the black students tended to group together during both work periods and free time. The seven black students--Ben, Lane, Eve, Lily, Ann, Kelly, and Tillie--were all introduced to the classroom after the semester began and friendship networks had begun to jell. Julia, the eighth black student, was added two weeks later. The two Thai brothers and three Mexican-American students lived in the neighborhood and had already associated together during their years at Hooper Elementary.

The boys, Ben and Lane, were the first of the black students to find new friends. The latter was friends with Jeff, the aide's son, a Mexican American who was not very social. Tillie and Julia were the two dominant girls in the classroom, sanctioning other students to quiet down, and organizing a dance-drill team on the playground that drew admirers.

Change became apparent after the teacher reinstated the "dream communities" and rearranged the seating pattern by the following method: each student paired off with a friend; next, each pair selected a pair with a different racial background with whom they thought they could get along; finally, each foursome picked a pair of unspecified racial background. These formed table groupings that were racially integrated. Except for one table, they were gender segregated. At this point, about three weeks into the observations, students began to play on the playground with students from their

table; and the black students did not always side with other blacks in arguments, as had previously been the case. As might be expected in this age group, same sex friendships were the rule, although tolerances increased in choosing mixed teams in volleyball.

h. Efforts to encourage integration

A major focus of Mr. Lewis' moral socialization of his students concerned the value of "respecting others' individuality." Other aspects of the inculcation of this value, such as not hurting others' feelings, have been discussed elsewhere. In this section several strategies and events will be recounted that display the teacher's emphasis on developing interracial tolerance--a goal to which he was deeply committed. As he commented in the final interview:

> What I am attempting to do is confront the problem instead of hiding my head in the sand and trying to ignore the fact that hatred exists or that prejudices exist. I said hatred because I think it is very strongly, firmly entrenched in the country and in the children. It shows up if you give it a chance to rear its head so it's been a major problem in dealing with the intensity of some of the feelings that the children have toward each other. The hot seat for example is showing that things are working out pretty well. If you close your eyes and forgot about the [voice] you know, so you couldn't tell if it was a black kid or a white kid talking, you have difficulty knowing who was talking about whom. It was not a question of black kids bad mouthing white kids or white kids bad mouthing black kids. It was children being very specific about behavior of other children, and when their behavior was not appropriate. That made me really feel good last week because I could see that it was no longer a racial thing. Black kids could say good things about the black and white kids and white kids could say things about the black and white kids. So it is beginning to break down and I hope by the end of the year there will be some strong visible evidence that attacking the thing forthrightly instead of hiding from it, is the way to deal with the problem. So that was the number one problem I guess that we faced with the desegregation program.

Of the teacher's human relations strategies designed to break down interpersonal barriers, "pair blending," the "dyads," "hot seats," and the "guided fantasies" all touched upon social integration issues. "Pair blending" consisted of pairs of table groups holding hands and being guided into a state of physical relaxation through breathing exercises. The goal of this activity was to create a positive bond among students. The "dyads" were pairings in which one partner told the other something he/she liked or disliked about the other, who then, after listening had to repeat the sentiment expressed. The goal of this was to teach

students to listen to others' perceptions of them without becoming argumentative, as well as to give the speaker feedback on his or her ability to communicate feelings.

"Guided fantasies" were used to create vignettes of conflict with parents or teachers, as well as other everyday situations. Students would fantasize their way of coping with these situations and then share feelings in a class circle context. In one fantasy session students were to imagine themselves in situations with a person of another race, beginning with sitting beside him/her on a bus, then studying with, dating, and marrying him or her, and finally, having a child with this person. No prejudicial problems arose during the process until marriage was suggested. Only a few of the students (mostly girls) could imagine an interracial marriage partner, or childbearing; but the stigma of relating to girls at all affected the boys' responses.

In another fantasy, students were asked to imagine that they had bright pink skin. During the discussion which followed, most of the students indicated that other people were prejudiced against them, that they got into fights, or could not buy from a store because they were pink. Significantly, the only black students who referred to prejudice were Ben, who related a story involving prejudice and a fight, and Lily, who mentioned prejudice but claimed it was because she came from Mars.

The "hot seat" was used effectively on one occasion when Tillie complained that the teacher did not respect her. Mr. Lewis told her that he did not respect her because she did not respect the other students. Every student in the room raised their hand when asked if Tillie had been abusive to them. Then students discussed the specific nature of Tillie's offenses.

Apart from the techniques described above, and the reorganized seating (described on p. 119),Mr. Lewis emphasized the nature of prejudice in both the reading and science curriculum. In the reading/listening lessons, the teacher chose stories about famous athletes (often black) and people who had undergone some personal struggle.

In summarizing Mr. Lewis' strategies, the ethnographer reported that many students were not aware of the historical basis of discrimination:

> At one point, Mr. Lewis was reading a story about Roy Campenella, and discussing the fact that there had been racially segregated baseball teams, and when he asked the students what race barrier means, the students seemed to associate it with a sport, such as in "racing." The students did not understand--even after the teacher repeatedly questioned them. The students did not have the experience to understand that there had been racially segregated teams. They stated that they assumed the teams had been segregated because the black team players just wanted to play together, and the white team players just wanted to play together, not that they <u>had</u> to.

By contrast, the units on the discussion of the genetic basis of race and the history of the black/white segregation more concretely presented the origin of racial characteristics and some mistaken views of human differences. Students' responses to discussion questions indicated they understood and agreed with the nonsupremacist ideology presented. The ethnographer, an anthropologist, noted that the curriculum materials did not represent the most recent academic "position" on the origins of man. (Mr. Lewis focused exclusively on problems of black/white racism and did not address Hispanic or Asian history.)

Explicit references to race were not raised when students came into conflict. Nor were there racial/ethnic overtones in the name calling. When Mr. Lewis had intense confrontations with the black students (Tillie and Lily), or when students had conflicts, the problems were always seen as individual "personality" problems or unkind behaviors.

The black students received some minor differential treatment from Mr. Lewis. He sometimes encouraged them more often than the white students in human relations exercises. During the flying exercise, for example, he tried to encourage the black girls to jump further than Tillie. This was not a consistent difference, however, since Mr. Lewis was effusive in praising all students who made efforts.

Since the bussed students did not have time to stand in line at the end of the day, they were allowed to purchase candy first. Other than this, all priviliges and leadership roles were assigned on a rotating basis, or on the basis of the best behaving table.

In summary, Mr. Lewis acted on the belief that overcoming prejudice is the most important goal of social integration. To accomplish that end he devised curricular and interactional strategies designed to create a close-knit community among the students.

D. CASE STUDY OF MS. GARCIA'S CLASSROOM

1. Setting

a. The school

Van De Camp School is in Cluster #1 of the district's desegregation plan. In 1977 the school's student population was approximately 82 percent minorities. In 1978, with the implementation of the plan, the number of minority students decreased to 79 percent. The school had 198 students. One teacher was employed at each grade level. This school was open only to new majority student enrollment.

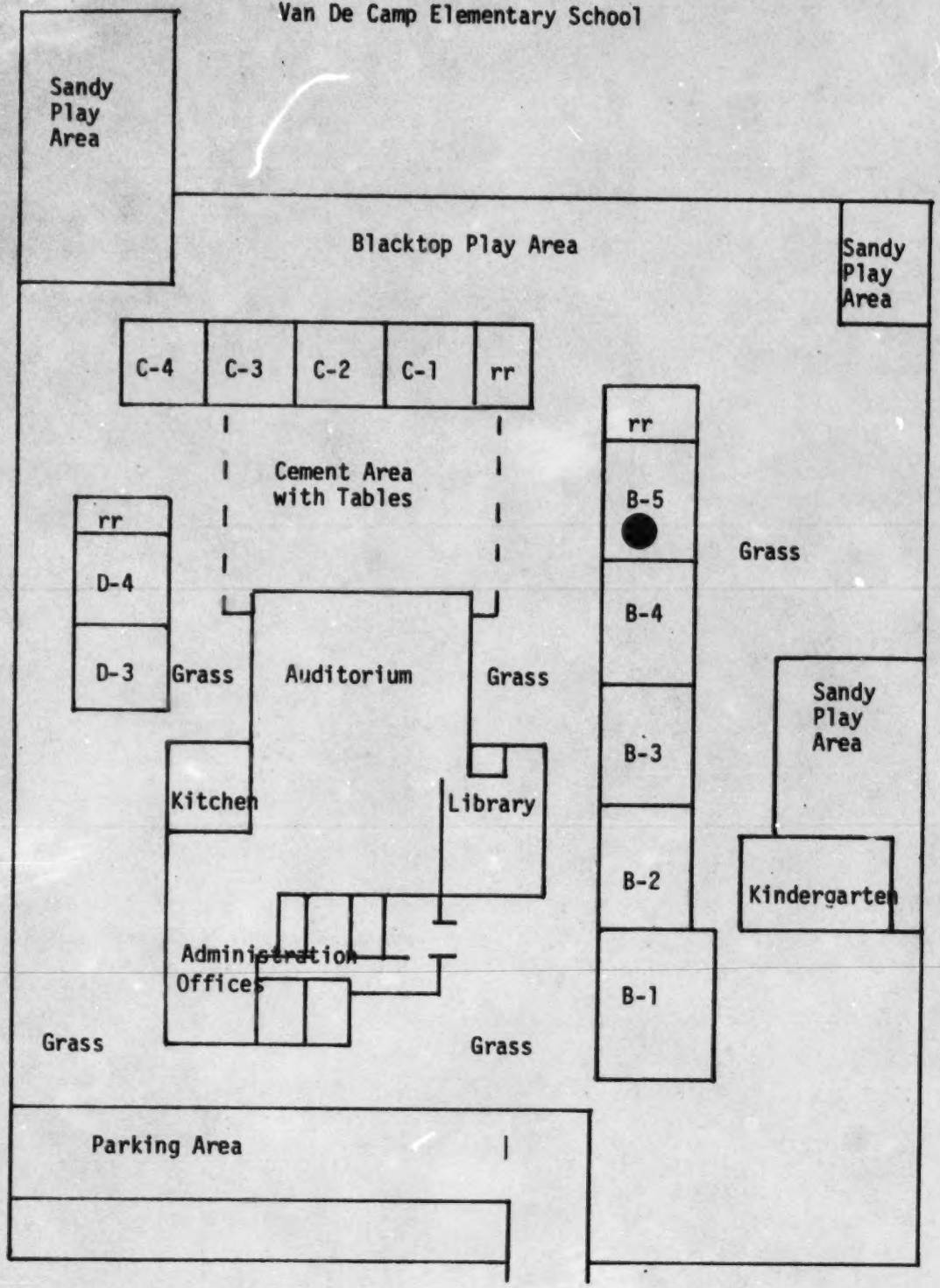
Van De Camp emphasizes a comprehensive program of basic skills, featuring an extended day which operates from 7:45 a.m. until 5:45 p.m. Before and after school activities include special tutoring, field trips, arts and crafts, playground games and activities, bowling, roller skating, music, films, and television. Each grade has a bilingual class.

Van De Camp School (see Figure D1) has a small parking lot in the front that accommodates very little more than the cars for the teachers. Set back from the parking lot is a central building. It houses the school office, the secretary's office, the principal's office, the faculty restrooms and the faculty room. The largest room, a carpeted multipurpose room, is used for the cafeteria and assemblies. The school library is located off this room.

Just to the west of the central building, and sitting further back from the street, in building "D," which contains two rooms, "D-3" and "D-4." On the north end of the building is a set of restrooms. North of the main building and separated by a cement area that contains tables, is building "C," containing four classrooms. On the east end of this building is a set of restrooms. To the east of the main building and separated by a grassy area is building "B," which contains five classrooms and a restroom. The kindergarten room is located east of building"B." Behind the kindergarten is a sand-filled play area that is to the

Figure D1

Van De Camp Elementary School



Legend

rr Restrooms

● Ms. Garcia's classroom

north of the kindergarten. North of that is a grassy field. Just north of building "C" is a blacktop play area. This contains several basketball courts, a volleyball court, and some squares for playing various games. To the northwest of building "C" is another sand area that is cut slightly into the blacktop area. On the northeast side is a third sandy area.

In contrast to the new central building, the classroom buildings look like 20-year-old barracks. There was no writing on the wall, and the rooms were fairly neat. Other than a few papers on the floor, the restrooms were neat and clean. Classrooms were air-conditioned by window air conditioners.

The ethnic composition of the school's professional staff, including teacher aides and tutors, was approximately 50 percent white and 50 percent Mexican American. Two black aides and one Japanese aide also worked in the school.

The principal, Mr. Woods, was white and in his mid-thirties. He held a joint appointment as principal of both Van De Camp and another school. This was only his second year at this school. He had previously been a principal elsewhere and had spent, in all, twelve years in education. All of his experience in the district had been on the east side of town, the minority section.

At Van De Camp, the main impact of bussing had been felt in the kindergarten and first grade. Approximately thirty-five students were bussed in for their extended care service, which was provided from approximately seven to five o'clock. This influx of children in kindergarten and first grade succeeded in achieving the percentages of 80 percent/20 percent.

The bussing program actually began last February. Mr. Woods felt that it was going much better this year because no children were stigmatized as "outsiders," since they had been at the school before. On the whole, he felt that the district's desegregation efforts had been successful within the limits that were established. There remained only one "impacted" school, which was a school of about seven

hundred children. Its previous population consisted of 99 percent minorities. This percentage had been reduced to about 90. Because of its large size, he did not feel that it was going to achieve the 80 percent limit, and he simply did not know what they would be able to do about it.

For the district as a whole, he thought Proposition Thirteen cutbacks would result in a number of the small schools like his own being consolidated. He did not think this was a good idea for the students, but seemed to accept the fact that it made fiscal sense. He did not envision that it would affect his school. Also, he did not believe that the consolidation effort, if and when it came, would be planned in a way so as to help desegregation. As for desegregation, he did not feel that it had been too successful, attributing part of the problem to white flight. He thought many people were claiming that their children actually resided at a relative's house so that they could attend school outside the district.

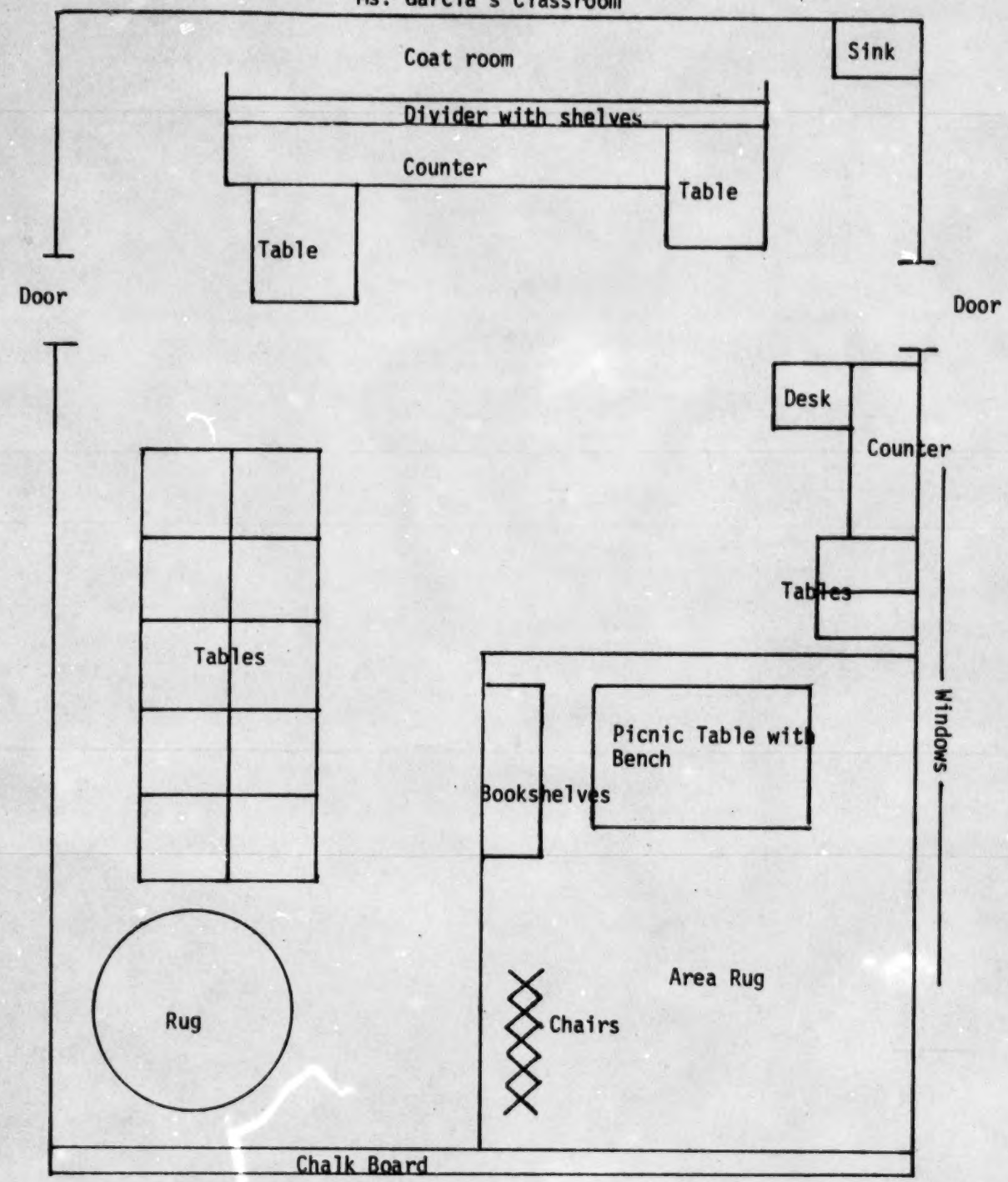
In the community, the main objections to bussing were phrased in terms of greater violence and lower academic standards in minority schools. He did not believe that his school was more violent than predominantly white schools. Mr. Woods did indicate that his students ranked extremely low academically, but he saw this as perhaps more a reflection on the students than on the school.

b. The classroom

The room that was observed was "B-5," the northernmost classroom in the "B" Building. The room was rectangular in shape, being longest in its north/south walls. On the north wall was the coat room (see Figure D2). This was formed by a divider placed approximately six feet from the north wall. There were shelves in the divider. On the east end of the divider was a table (table four). On the side of the divider facing the room were more shelves, each having a little basket for each of the four teachers: the regular teacher, the student teacher, the aide, and the language tutor. A large drawn multiplication table was

Figure D2

Ms. Garcia's Classroom



also placed here. The divider was about seven feet tall. It had a large number of bottles and other things stored on its top. In the northeast corner of the room was a sink and counter. Immediately next to this, on the east wall, was a door. Just south of this on the east wall was a counter. A desk was placed next to the counter.

The east wall was composed almost completely of windows, running practically the entire length of the wall and lighting the entire room. They were covered by venetian blinds that were open during the day, as were the windows. The room had a light and breezy atmosphere. In one of the windows was an air conditioner. On the south wall was a large chalk board. From hooks above the chalk board were hung a number of papers containing the words to songs that were used for sing-alongs. The "songs" were hung in the east and west corners of the south wall.

Along the floor, there were a number of racks containing books called "USSR," for use in independent reading. In the southeast corner was a heater. In the southeast corner and on the east wall were hung three large free-hand drawn maps of the months of September, October, and November. Above the chalk board, in the center of the room, was a rolled-up movie screen. In the southwest corner of the chalk board was an American flag.

The west wall had only small windows extending along the top. These were covered by venetian blinds that prevented light from entering. Just below the windows was a line of cards on which were written the alphabet and numbers. It appears that at one time a large chalk board covered most of the west wall, but now it was totally covered by yellow, orange, and brown paper as a decoration. The other chalk board was portable and located approximately in the middle of the west wall.

The second door of the class was located approximately ten feet down from

the northwest corner of the classroom. In the interior of the classroom, just out from the west wall, was a line of tables with chairs around them. This extended most of the length from outside the door down the west wall. At the end of the table was a small, round rug that extended into the southwest corner.

In the southeastern quarter of the classroom, taking up an area twelve by twenty, was another rug area. The rug looked like wall-to-wall carpeting that had been cut up and simply laid on the floor. There were chairs lined up on the western edge of this carpet. On the northern end of the carpet were a table and bench, something like a picnic table. Against the western side of the bench was a shelf that contained pencils. Just north of the rugged area was another set of tables against the eastern wall. These were covered with items of all sorts.

The lighting in the room was supplied by two lines of fluorescent bulbs running down the room. These probably would have been inadequate to light the room, without the one wall of windows.

2. The Performers

a. The teacher

Ms. Garcia was in her early forties and was a Mexican American. She had been teaching for 18 years in the Valley City school system. She had spent fourteen years at Van De Camp School overall and had been at the school for the past three years, having been involuntarily transferred back to it after three years of bilingual teaching at another school. All but her first two years of teaching had been in predominantly minority schools.

Ms. Garcia's experience had included two years as an "Adjustment Teacher." In this capacity she worked with children with emotional problems and made home contacts with parents. She felt she still actively cultivated communication with parents and that these relationships created involvement and cooperation. She demonstrated detailed knowledge of the home situations of her students and had taught many of their siblings. Parents were encouraged to come to the classroom.

In terms of relationship with the principal and faculty, Ms. Garcia indicated that there was good rapport. She served as "Head Teacher," which means she took disciplinary responsibility for the school when the assistant administrator was not there. The principal was called in to do paddling, if necessary. Other than that, Ms. Garcia did not refer her students having disciplinary problems to the office.

The faculty at the school made curriculum decisions and were aided by the resource teacher who provided choice of materials. The teacher indicated that there was a good atmosphere at the school and teacher morale was good. However, interviews with other personnel suggested that some of the staff regarded Ms. Garcia with some reservation because of her more open classroom style (e.g., her tolerance for students who were "messy," or "noisy," etc.).

Ms. Garcia enjoyed and respected the work of her aides, student teacher,

and language tutor and felt they worked well together to create a good classroom system. She felt that her aide should have her own classroom and had made a mistake in dropping out of her teaching degree program.

b. The students

This class was predominantly Mexican American. A few students were bussed in from the black community. Of 29 students, the ethnic breakdown was as follows:

20 Mexican American

4 black

2 white

1 black/white (culturally Anglo, appearance black)

1 Mexican/Puerto Rican (culturally Puerto Rican)

1 Mexican/Asian (culturally Chinese; appearance blended)

The class was fairly heterogeneous academically, so that averaging CTBS scores by ethnicity would be misleading. See charts below.

Fall CTBS Reading Scores	>1 year below grade level	within 1 year of grade level	>1 year above grade level
Mexican American	16	3	2
black	4	1	-
white	-	-	2
Asian	1	-	-
Totals	21	4	4

Math Scores	>1 year below grade level	Within one year of grade level	>1 year above grade level
Mexican American	10	9	2
black	5	-	-
white	2	-	-
Asian	1	-	-
Totals	18	9	2

Summarized in these charts are the California Test of Basic Skills scores in reading and math, administered in the fall of that school year. The scores ranged from 1.6 to 7.5 in reading and from 1.6 to 9.0 in math. Only four pupils scored more than one grade equivalent above their grade while most of the class was at least one grade below their grade level. Of the Mexican Americans, 13 spoke Spanish in their homes. One girl, who was part Mexican and part Chinese-Japanese, spoke some Chinese. Of the Spanish speaking students, only one was a recent Mexican immigrant. The rest were reared in the area. Several students had had the teacher in prior grades. Of the bussed students (who were black), two girls were described by the ethnographer as "very popular"; one girl as "exceptionally quiet"; one boy as "constantly carrying on a private dialogue"; and one boy as "highly aggressive and troublesome."

c. Other adults in the classroom

The Aide. Beth was 31, single, tall, blond, and white. She had been teaching in various capacities for eight years, mostly in preschool and kindergarten. This was her fourth year working with Ms. Garcia. She needed about 40 units to receive a B.A. from the nearby state college, where she was majoring in liberal arts with a bilingual emphasis. She had a provisional credential to work with handicapped students. She worked each day, but only in the mornings.

Beth felt very comfortable with Ms. Garcia and took pride in her instructional role.

The Language Tutor. Mary was 26 and attended the local community college. She had worked for five years as a language tutor. Although assigned to Van De Camp for all but three months of that time, this was her first year with Ms. Garcia. She enjoyed the "go-go" atmosphere of the classroom, but did not feel comfortable with the fact that the four adults were all "chiefs." She would have liked to see Ms. Garcia exert more leadership over the other instructors.

The Student Teacher. Rosie was a Mexican American, 31, married with two children, and getting her B.A. and credential simultaneously. She helped organize the classroom and took an active role as an equal among the other instructors. She found Ms. Garcia helpful and positive, although her own teaching style was more structured and rigid. There was a mutual antagonism between the aide and the student teacher that was never confronted, although Ms. Garcia was aware of the problem.

The Resource Teacher. Penny visited the classroom once a week to conduct human relations activities with the students. These activities consisted of guided fantasies with discussion. The focus of these sessions was to promote a better understanding and acceptance of differences among people. Ms. Garcia appreciated these sessions, but Penny's presence did not affect the operation of the classroom system.

3. Teacher Beliefs and Expectations

a. Teaching role expectations

Ms. Garcia believed that she derived many of her ideas about education from the open classroom concept,but also believed that "a very structured,organized setting allows us to hang loose":

> I want students to be able to really relate to each other... feeling good about themselves and feeling good about each other, and learning how to make it in society.

Toward this end she emphasized what she called "responsibility and citizenship":

> A traditional teacher I am not--and I won't let the children be traditional students. I strive for a lot of interaction. I set up activities where they go to each other, so that they are responsible to each other, so that they help each other, so that they are committed to each other. The role that I see for me is that I am the chief...and it's my responsibility to have things moving...to open avenues for them. I want decisions to come from them; I want them to speak for their rights. I want them to care for each other.

The teacher used a point system to reward appropriate behavior such as attendance, punctuality, participation in activities, and working on assigned tasks. Students had to reach 500 points to be allowed to participate in field trips. She believed this approach taught responsibility and maintained an atmosphere of high expectations for students in terms of academic effort and proper behavior.

She likened teaching to being on stage and said that being "dramatic" as a teacher meant "feeling free to show anger and disappointment," and "being able to get students turned on to learning."

The teacher described herself both as a "strong disciplinarian" with high expectations for students, and as a "patient and compassionate" teacher.

She made a conscious effort to be supportive of students after she reprimanded them.

b. Perceptions of the students

The class, according to Ms. Garcia, was quick to jell into the kind of organization she required. Approximately two-thirds of the students were pupils from her third-grade class. They were accustomed to the use of the point system and the expected behaviors of active involvement and cooperative learning. The teacher said that her bad experience with bussed students the previous year had not recurred this year. She remarked:

> I try to relate to the children as individuals. I find that the Anglo kids...differ from the Van De Camp School youngsters because they are a little more catered to at home. You feel a confidence the Mexican children don't necessarily have. I think with my black students I see the confidence factor is lower.

She believed it important to provide encouragement so that her students would not give up. Because the teacher knew most of the students and their families, her descriptions of the students were quite detailed. In general, she tended to expect them to be passive and to need someone to build their confidence. She tended to view black students as likely to be low achievers.

c. Attitudes toward desegregation

With a strong commitment to neighborhood schools, the teacher did not want to see bussing, but accepted it because it "has to be." She viewed it as a challenge to get students to relate to each other. At the same time, previous experience with children coming from other neighborhoods proved to be positive.

She believed that the desegregation effort transferred students to Van De Camp who had not been succeeding in their own schools:

> Last year we received headaches.... Some of the children that came to us...weren't doing so well at the other school, maybe because of citizenship behavior, and instead of the parents really coping with the problem, they decided to take the children elsewhere.

> [Last year]it set me back in my classroom. Receiving these students in January, I was having to fuss with things I had already fussed with in September. It set the whole classroom back. [Later]the parents decide that this school wasn't the answer so maybe took their kids to another cluster school this year. That kind of situation isn't healthy but distracting.

When asked about the district's efforts to orient teachers to the voluntary desegregation program, Ms. Garcia responded that the faculty had been well informed about the decisions that had been made. She said that teacher representatives had attended many desegregation and integration meetings and reported back to the school. There had also been meetings of the teachers in the cluster schools and meetings with the school faculty and the assistant superintendent in charge of the Desegregation and Integration Program. This year, however, by the fifth week of school, no meetings had taken place. The previous year there was a two-week exchange of students among the cluster schools that, although it disrupted the class's progress, was a positive experience.

The teacher felt there was leadership "downtown" that provided good inservice training resources. Although the help had not occurred as yet, she felt the district had definite plans to come into the school and meet teachers' special needs and provide services. Ms. Garcia felt that the district was responsive to their needs, noting that teachers had only to pick up the phone to receive help from coordinators or resource people.

4. Instructional Practices

a. Instructional format

The presence of four adults in the classroom (teacher, teacher aide, language teacher and student teacher) allowed Ms. Garcia the opportunity to design varied learning activities. Small group instruction was used for the basic skill subjects. Students were placed in ability groups only for reading.

Independent work was integrated into the small group activities by means of a scheduling chart posted on the wall. Each group was listed and the name of the instructor was clipped onto a space below the group name. A sign labeled "Independent" indicated when members of a group were to do independent seat work. It is of interest that this chart was designed by the student teacher, although the teacher indicated that the system of grouping would have existed in some form without it. There was also a daily independent reading period from 10:30 to 11:00 a.m.

Peer tutoring was used extensively during both independent work and small group instruction. In the latter instances, an instructor corrected a student's assignment and then had that student work with other students.

Reading was stressed in this classroom. Students read stories they had written in a whole-class circle. Reading instruction occurred in a teacher-centered small group format. During the independent reading period, students read silently at their desks. During the third week of observation the student teacher initiated a rule that required students to keep the book of their choice for the entire period. This was to prevent students from just looking at the pictures.

Math and language were taught in small,teacher-centered groups. Various math skills were taught simultaneously by each of the teachers. Language was taught primarily by the aide. No direct instruction was given in spelling. Students had spelling books that were used for homework and during catchup time. Spelling

pre-tests were given on Mondays and final tests on Fridays.

Science was not taught, although a science learning center was set up by the middle of November for independent work. Social studies was taught through stories about American history.

Art was emphasized in the form of several special projects. Instructional activities in story writing, Spanish, and language also involved artwork.

Music instruction included singing songs. In addition, music lessons and choir were offered through the school. Physical Education was completely neglected except for recess and lunch time free play on the playground. Recess could be revoked for not completing homework. On a few occasions the class went out for a volleyball game as a structured activity.

The Spanish bilingual program consisted of instruction by the language tutor, which included some Mexican history. The language tutor, student teacher, and Ms. Garcia all spoke Spanish as well as English when giving instructions, directions, or reprimands. Pre- and post- tests, given on Mondays and Fridays, were administered in Spanish.

All student work was given to a teacher so that she could document students' progress and record points.

b. Scheduling of subject matter

A typical day in the classroom followed this schedule:

General Business (total class)	8:50 - 9:10
Reading (individual, homework)	9:10 - 9:30
Math (small groups)	9:30 - 10:15
Recess	10:15 - 10:30
Independent Reading	10:30 - 11:00
Reading Instruction (small groups)	11:00 - 11:45
Cleanup	11:45 - 12:00
Lunch	12:00 - 1:00

Language or Spelling	1:00 - 1:45 - 2:00
Recess	2:00 - 2:10
Art, Music, etc.	2:10 - 3:00
Cleanup	

5. Classroom Socialization

a. Classroom rules

Although Ms. Garcia considered herself strict, she did not institute many rules to achieve a smoothly operating class. Students were required to sit on the carpet during her small group instruction and were not allowed to sit on chairs. She was concerned with having work completed, and reprimanded students who were distracting others during independent work, but without referring to "rules."

Mobility of students was well regulated, but the rules were flexible. For example, permission was required to leave the room, but if a student needed to get a pencil or go to his/her "box"* to get something, he/she could do so without seeking permission. Students were assigned to areas of the classroom for tasks and generally did not wander about the room.

Students were allowed to talk to each other during tutoring and sometimes during independent work. Students who were off task were censured for talking. Talk was specifically not permitted during classroom meetings, during general business time, or when stories were being read. This proscription was indicative of the teacher's concerns for politeness and respectful attention.

It is significant that the student teacher's presence in the room altered the teacher's classroom management practices. Less tolerant of disorder and less flexible than Ms. Garcia, the student teacher organized the learning center to be for specific tasks only. She introduced the following rules to correct what she perceived to be "problems":

"No talking is allowed during independent reading."

"No changing books is allowed during independent reading."

"No pencils are allowed when sitting on the carpet."

---

*Students' belongings were kept in boxes, i.e., plastic tubs, because the worktables did not have storage space.

"When asked if points were earned, do not answer, 'yeah'."

"Only specific numbers of students can be at each learning center."

In addition, the teacher selectively enforced rules such as "Raise hands when giving answers" and "Do not sit under the bench," while the student teacher enforced them more strictly.

Rules related to turning in work were strictly enforced. Students had to check in homework with a teacher. Assignments had to be checked in before students could proceed further. Here again, the student teacher sought to provide more structure by setting deadlines for checking in work.

There was a good deal of moralizing associated with following rules and standards of good behavior. Primarily, these sanctions were framed in terms of "being responsible," and referred to the work ethic value of not being lazy (see Moral socialization, section c).

b. Rewards and punishments

Teachers at the Van De Camp School had a variety of options open to them for sanctioning behavior. They used a point system by which students could earn up to 500 points for positive behavior, thereby gaining permission to participate in activities outside of school. Short of suspension, the most severe sanction was for a student to be sent to the principal for a paddling.

Ms. Garcia's classroom disciplinary measures included class meetings where class or individual student behavior could be discussed and students counseled. Notes could be sent home by the teacher describing the student's behavior to the parents. A student's name could be put on the calendar, which meant that the student would not be able to go on classtrips as long as his/her name was on the calendar. Each of these options (except paddling and suspensions) was used during the observations.

Ms. Garcia placed a great deal of emphasis on the point system in her classroom. Students accumulated their points by completing homework, avoiding negative social interactions, and being positive in their behavior. In conjunction with the point system, Ms. Garcia was quick to praise students verbally, reinforcing behavior she valued. Students were sanctioned individually or in groups. On occasions, the teacher feigned anger to convey displeasure with the behaviors displayed by the students. She was equally able to show satisfaction with behavior. Positive behaviors, such as doing well on a test, helping another student, or being complimented by another student, were shared with the class.

In addition to praise, Ms. Garcia enforced the point system in her class. If students' test scores added significantly to their points in the point system, they were eligible to participate in off-campus programs. More than a half-dozen students were not able to accompany the class to see "The Wiz" because their point totals were too low. The point totals were low in this case because homework had not been completed. Several students, whose names appeared on the calendar for behavior poorly, were unable to go with the class to visit a haunted house at Halloween. Students could "borrow" points from their next month's performance in order to allow them to participate in a class outing. The only restriction here was that they could not borrow points if points were low because of not turning in homework assignments. Ms. Garcia rewarded well-behaved students with classroom duties that were highly valued by all the students--for example, being class monitor, or taking responsibility for the tape recorder or record player.

c. Moral socialization

In this classroom maintaining a desired order appeared to center on moral socialization related to values of work, cooperation, and respectfulness. In particular, the teacher was consistent in reprimanding students who were lazy, passive, or self-deprecating; students who acted selfishly, hurt others' feelings, or were "negative" about activities; and students who were impolite or disrespectful.

The importance of work values was exemplified by frequent sanctions of students who were off task, and by praise of students who showed enthusiasm for work. At one point, the teacher launched into a 36-minute lecture to the class on laziness after discovering that students had not worked on their homework:

> 11/15
>
> The teacher continued to inform students that they must do all their work. She said, "Al, stop babying yourself. You're in the fifth grade, not a baby. [I want you to earn] 500 points every time and get your homework done."

The aide asked the students to respond to the accusation that they did not appreciate the class:

> One student said, "We're lazy." Ben raised his hand and said, "You are saying that you like doing things for us, but it is not so nice if we don't do our part."

All the teachers then took turns making points about laziness. The teacher, in angry tones, ended the long discussion by announcing that recess would be cancelled for three days for all but three students.

The second type of values, emphasizing cooperation and harmony, was illustrated by praise for students who helped others, and giving good workers the privilege of tutoring the kindergarteners.

The third type of values emphasized was personal values related to respectfulness, politeness, and sex role expectations. The teacher was adamant in insisting on propriety. During a class trip to the hamburger stand (a reward for the class having the most parents at the PTA open house), the teacher showed great concern about a boy in the class who complained about the service. She tried to

rectify this "impoliteness" by having a discussion with the student about how the hostess might have overheard the remark,and brought the subject up again when they were eating. Then she picked him to go say "thank you" for the class to the hostess when they were done, and reinforced this with "Hey, look, there he goes, he's going to take care of our thanks."

In terms of more personal values that were expressed by Ms. Garcia, one incident stands out in particular. Although she frequently used point-giving time to re-emphasize the importance of work and to lecture on laziness, on one occasion the subject of a twenty-three minute conference was the use of dirty words:

> 11/7
>
> The teacher begins by saying that there is a lot of garbage on TV with girls not wearing any bras anymore and boyfriends moving in and everyone sleeping around... She reminds them that when they were doing Fantasy Time with Penny, one of the students had to bring up something about sex and a boy had said something about sleeping with a girl. She says, "This wasn't necessary, this is garbage and shouldn't be brought into the class...
>
> [Each of the teachers air their complaints about how things like saying "your mamma " or gigling and "taking things to be dirty" detracted from learning.] ...Ms. Garcia says, "Why should we as teachers have our time wasted because they take things dirty?" The teacher, Mary, Beth, and Rosie each tell stories about how bad different actresses look when they've gone on tv without bras.

The point to be made here is that Ms. Garcia framed the discussion in terms of a conflict between learning, and "how lucky they are to have four teachers" on the one hand; and the use of epithets, adolescent humor, and values displayed in TV programs, on the other hand.

d. The roles of other adults in the classroom

The maintenance of order was managed by the teacher's allocation of complete "authority" to each of the four adults in the classroom. Each was perceived by

the students as a "teacher." None of their disciplinary decisions was overruled by Ms. Garcia. For example, the aide could decide that the class would be deprived of recess. The presence of four adults allowed for close monitoring of students so that the students almost never needed to interrupt Ms. Garcia to find out instructions; nor were they likely to be off task without someone making a move to get them on task.

There was a strong sense of rapport and dedication among the four women and, consequently, high morale. In interviews with them, however, it was clear that the aide had become insecure about her relationship with the teacher because of jealousy toward the student teacher. As has been mentioned, the teacher gave the three much latitude to contribute to the organization of the classroom. The student teacher took on the role of providing more structure to the use of learning centers and supervising student conduct more strictly.

An interesting feature of their arrangement was that each could announce "time out," and students could not disturb them during this time. This allowed for lesson preparation or correction of papers without disrupting the flow of ongoing instructional activities.

e. Student leaders

Ms. Garcia's class was fairly traditional in terms of the leadership characteristics of the students. Although this was a newly desegregated situation, the ways in which leaders emerged or maintained themselves fitted known characteristics. There were those who were leaders because they were socially popular, those who were leaders because they were academically outstanding, and those who were leaders because they were antisocial or acted as if they had chips on their shoulders. The latter incidence of leadership is difficult to identify clearly. The teacher mentioned it in reference to the behavior of several Mexican-American girls (Anna, Kathy, Dela, and Lee), but it was not possible to corroborate it by reviewing the classroom activities,

the teacher's daily report, or the teacher's description of the students. Ms. Garcia viewed these students' behavior as prototypical of Mexican Americans who in junior high might form deviant cliques. Her response was to provide additional supervision, emphasize standards of cooperation, and encourage these students in academic areas. She believed these efforts were helpful in steering these students from future gang membership.

f. Students with adjustment problems

Two students were identified by both the teacher and the ethnographer as demonstrating behavior problems in the classroom, Abbott and Carl.

CARL, one of the bussed black students, was described as verbally and physically aggressive. The teacher reported that during the first two weeks she was "on him" constantly for not doing his work or for pushing other students around. She noted that he deliberately violated rules to show his toughness and his response to reprimands was "I'm going to get my mother to transfer me to another school," or "I'm not going to work at this school."

Initially students disliked him because he would call them names such as "honky" and "wetback." Even the black students complained that he called them names.

He frequently ignored instructions directed to him even when they were repeated. This antagonistic behavior included tearing up his assignments, refusing to take tests, and doing "karate" kicks toward other students' faces.

The teacher had a conference with Carl's mother after three weeks but felt it "did not improve the situation much." The teacher soon realized that constant reprimands would not improve Carl's behavior. She decided to take another approach.

> I started out being very tough and stern with him and it just didn't work. He became very rebellious. He showed anger. I tried different approaches with him. The approach that I use now...is that I'll hold him tight, put my arms

around him and say, "You can do it Carl. You know your brain is rusty because you really haven't been using it. But you are like the Tin Man in The Wizard of Oz. He needs some oil and that's what you need. You need to get that brain of yours oiled, but you can do it."

...And so with Carl [I use] patience...good sincere loving, a lot of understanding, a lot of encouragement.

The manifestation of this approach was that sometimes Carl was not held accountable for certain academic standards, so that he might experience success. For example, unlike the other students, he was given credit for spelling words despite capitalization errors.

ABBOTT was the social marginal. He was also disinterested in classwork. He sat alone away from his classmates, did not participate in group contexts, did not do homework. And according to what the other students said of him, he tended to get into fights. He was perceived by others as a "cholo" or "chuko," because of his attire (white tee shirts with pendelton shirts or sweatshirts, baggy pants rolled up at the cuff) and his "macho" manner. This presentation of self was not shared by other Mexican American boys in the classroom, and it drew their derision. He was the only boy not named as a friend by other students in the class (see the section on friendship patterns). Strong evidence of this derision was observed during the language tutor's Spanish class outside the classroom:

10/29

Abbott was not joining in. Each time he was called upon to translate, he would answer, "I don't know." The students got on his case, particularly Kathy who told him, "All of us tried and we didn't get it right but at least we tried. That's all Mary asks us, but you never try." She then added, "If you want to be a 'chuko' you have to know Spanish." This seemed to have hit him in the right place because after that he tried.

The ethnographer later that day asked Kathy what a "chuko" was, and she responded in terms of clothing style. When Abbott was asked the same question,

he responded, "A chuko is a bad person [who does] bad things like beating up people and robbing stores." The language teacher commented that among the Mexican Americans, the "chuko" was only above the "wetback" or illegal alien at the bottom of the status hierarchy.

Ms. Garcia's sternness with Abbott centered on his refusal to work and participate in activities. She described her concern about his "image"--"a macho thing of not trying so you don't lose face by failing"--which kept him from tyring new things. The teacher did not back off on reprimanding him as she had with Carl. Frequently, her approach to improving his behavior involved "exposing" him to the class. In the episode that follows, it was time for recess and the teacher had just announced which students (Abbott among them) would not receive points for the spelling lesson because they were not paying attention:

11/1

> Abbott gets up and is about halfway across the room. Ms. Garcia says in a loud voice, "No one is excused." Abbott sits down on the far end of the bench to be closest to the door... The teacher says, "Abbott, you really go out of your way to show us you do not want to be part of this class. Are you setting us up so on Friday we will say, 'Poor Abbott doesn't know his spelling words because he wasn't listening'? I think if we had trench holes in this room you would be in one so you wouldn't have to see us."

The teacher's report for the day noted that the students laughed at this:

> It was a situation where we were making fun of him, and it wasn't...[that] I was inviting people to laugh and ridicule him. I was trying to expose him. In my dealings I felt...the time has come to expose Abbott .... Then maybe there will be a change of attitude.

Abbott received more of this type of criticism than any of the other students, reflecting the teacher's growing exasperation with him. Two days later, she decided to ask the community aide to visit his parents to get their help, as he had turned in only one nightly homework assignment in the eight weeks of school.

By the end of the observation period some favorable contacts with Abbott's father had occurred, and Abbott had established friendship with a number of students. He had made little academic progress, however.

LISA presented a different sort of problem. She was a recent arrival from Mexico who, because of her heavy accent, was insecure about using English. She was also the most physically developed girl in the room and was having a difficult time, emotionally, with puberty. No student listed her as his/her best friend,* although she appeared well-liked. She had the problem of being picked on by other students from the school on the playground and on the bus, and would sit sobbing in class. According to the students, she was picked on by the 4th and 6th graders because she would never fight back. There was a fight with Toni, one of the black girls in the classroom, which became an occasion for a class discussion. The teacher's position was that she would not protect Lisa because Lisa had to learn to fend for herself in order to overcome the taunting. Apart from this, and difficulties in spelling and math, Lisa was adjusting fairly well by the end of the observations.

It should be noted that the teacher was concerned with and well informed about students' home situations. Many of her students who did not produce work or who had problems relating to the teacher had difficulties at home--e.g., living with an elderly grandmother or with unsupportive or abusive parents.

g. Friendship patterns

Students, whether bussed or not, were able to relate well across ethnic groups. The white students and black students appeared to be more integrated than were the Mexican students. Black and white students had friends across ethnic groups, whereas Mexican students tended to choose other Mexican students as friends. For example, George, a black student, had been around for some time and had many friends

---

*The ethnographer produced a sociogram from student interviews.

of all ethnic groups. Terri, a black girl, listed students from all groups as friends, but she tended to associate mainly with black girls from other classes. Trina, a Mexican girl, identified mainly other Mexican students as friends and socialized primarily with them.

Trina was named only by Rhonda and Lisa as being their friend. However, in actual practice, Trina seemed to be well-liked and was never at a loss for people to play with. Toni had fewer friends. She was a very quiet girl and did not seem to be particularly outgoing. Her lack of friends may simply have been a product of her own personality. Rhonda, the half-black, half-white girl, on the other hand, was very well liked. A number of classmates named her as their best friend, including such girls as Joan, Betty, and Roberta, all of whom might be seen as dominant individuals within the class. Van was also a newcomer--a white student--and yet he was named by Randy, George, and Roy as being their friend. He did not seem to be well-connected with the dominant clique that included Dennis, Johnny, Randy, George, and Jim. He also did not seem to get along well with Carl. It should be mentioned, however, that Van was a small student and was not athletic. This could explain why he did not get along with this group. However, he got along with George, Randy, and Jim. It is also apparent that Van got along better with the female students than almost any of the other males.

Lisa was bussed to this school because of the bilingual program. Her English was very broken. She was somewhat of an outcast among the girls, although she appeared to be a nice, likeable girl. She was apparently tolerated on the playground by her classmates. However, she was beaten up and picked on by a number of black students on the playground and on the bus. They called her "wetback" on a number of occasions because of her poor English. It is perhaps the case that she would not have been picked on if she had been better integrated into the fifth

grade class --the other students would have stuck up for her more. But the payoff of Ms. Garcia's attempts to build solidarity among the students was evident at the class meeting she called to discuss Lisa's fight. Both George and Carl spoke with conviction of a willingness to go to her defense on the bus or on the playground, even though this meant that they would be fighting other black students. Although different groups of friends existed, the social integration of the classroom was thorough by the time of the observations. Bussed students did not appear to be systematically excluded.

There were few ethnic or racial references made. The ethnographer was told by the student teacher that when Carl first came to the school, he was calling people "honky" or "wetback." Jane identified a student who would beat up Lisa as a fourth grade black girl. The other students, however, called her "a girl from the fourth grade." Davy made reference to Jean, another student, as being black, but this was not conveyed as a derogatory remark. The term "nigger" was heard only once--by Carl when he accused a Mexican boy of using it, but he made that accusation only in front of the observer. The observer's impression of the conversation was that the accusation was something Carl had made up to justify his own actions. Finally, Lisa said that she had been called "wetback" a number of times. Aside from these isolated incidents, it didn't appear that students related to each other simply on the basis of ethnic categories.

h. Efforts to encourage social integration

In general, Ms. Garcia avoided confronting students on issues arising from race or ethnicity. She did make distinctions based on gender, however. The tendency to avoid direct references to race or ethnicity seemed to have been picked up by the students.

One event listed as critical was the fight that occurred when a number of black students picked on Lisa. Apparently, this kind of fighting was a recurrent

problem that had resulted in a number of students being disciplined. After this particular incident, the sixth grade girls were talked to and a long meeting was held in the fifth grade classroom. There were three important outcomes. One was that Lisa fought back when picked on, apparently for the first time. A number of students were surprised and impressed that she would fight. A second consequence of the incident was that Lisa's problems were brought into focus for the teacher, particularly Lisa's efforts to adjust to changes brought on by early puberty. The third outcome was the impact of the incident on Toni. Toni, who was involved in taunting Lisa, was one of the two black girls in the class (a third girl was half black, half white). The teacher subjected her to some grilling, basically along the lines of "You were supposed to be her friend, and this is how you showed it. Why is it that you sided with people from another class against one of your classmates?" Toni, who didn't often show much emotion at all, was observed to look shamed and hurt, having been reprimanded publicly for violating values Ms. Garcia espoused. In the popularity poll, taken by the observer about that time, Toni listed the teacher as her least favorite instructor. Later on, by the end of the observation period, she placed the teacher near the top of her list.

For the most part, the multicultural situation in class was downplayed by the teacher. There was little or no discussion of ethnic differences, either by teacher or students. Ms. Garcia did refer to ethnicity in mentioning people--for example, "the person who did X was a Mexicano." In discussing the mini-marathon in which Linda had run, it was pointed out that the two winners in the men's and women's divisions were both Chinese from Taiwan. On the rare occasions that the idea of ethnic differences arose, the teacher took the opportunity to show the value, worth, and competency of individuals from all backgrounds. The observer noted specifically

one time the teacher explained the differences in two subcultures. The explanation lacked any value judgment at all. The two subcultures were simply different, and without coming out and saying it, the teacher indicated they were equally good.

It was difficult to assess the relationship of the school and the district to events in the classroom. The school and the classroom were designated as bilingual. During her initial interview, Ms. Garcia mentioned that frequent meetings had been held to prepare teachers for multicultural education. However, except for one meeting with the district manager of the multicultural program, no efforts of this kind were in evidence during the observation period. There seemed to be little interference, or input, from the district in the classroom.